

THE
REGULATIONS
Lately Made concerning the
COLONIES,
AND THE
TAXES
Imposed upon Them, considered.



L O N D O N:

Printed for J. WILKIE, in *St. Paul's Church-Yard*,
and may be had at the Pamphlet-Shops at the *Royal-Exchange*, and *Charing-Cross*. 1765.

THE OCEANIC

STEAMSHIP COMPANY

NEW YORK

AND

PAKISTAN

INDIA

AND

AFRICA

T H E
R E G U L A T I O N S

Lately made with Respect to the
C O L O N I E S considered.

THE immediate Defence of our Colonies from imminent Danger, was the sole occasion of the last War: Their permanent Security has been effectually obtained by the Peace: And even their Aggrandizement and Improvement have been provided for by the Negotiators of that Treaty, beyond the idea of any former Administration: There have been Ministers ignorant of the Importance of the Colonies; others, have impotently neglected their Concerns; and others again have been diverted by meaner Pursuits from attending to them: But happily for this Country, the Real and Substantial, and those are the Commercial Interests of Great Britain, are now preferred to every other Consideration: And the Trade from whence its greatest Wealth is derived, and upon which its Maritime Power is principally founded, depends upon a wise and proper use of the Colonies: From them we are

to expect the Multiplication of Subjects ; the Consumption of our Manufactures ; the Supply of those Commodities which we want ; and the encrease of our Navigation : To encourage their Population and their Culture ; to regulate their Commerce ; and to cement and perfect the necessary Connection between them and the Mother Country, should therefore be the principal Objects of a British Minister's care ; and many Steps have been lately taken, which by their immediate Operation, or distant Consequences, may materially affect these important Concerns. Every Man who is sincerely interested in whatever is interesting to his Country, will anxiously consider the Propriety of these Measures ; will enquire into the Information, and Canvass the Principles upon which they have been adopted ; and will be ready to applaud what has been well done ; to condemn what has been done amiss ; and to suggest any Emendations, Improvements, or Additions, which may lie within his Knowledge, and occur to his Reflection. The following Sheets are written with a View to facilitate such an Examination : They pretend to no more than to collect the several Regulations that have been lately made with respect to the Colonies : To weigh the Reasons upon which each of them appears to have been founded ; and to see how far these are supported by Facts, and by Maxims of Trade and of Policy. These Regulations are many ; and have been made in the different Departments of our Legislative or Executive Government : They are therefore scattered thro' Proclamations, Statutes, and Orders : But they are all of equal
Publick

Publick Notoriety; which every Man may know; which every Man ought to know; and which when brought into one View and considered together, will appear to be either crude, incoherent, weak and pernicious Acts of Power, or a well digested consistent, wise and salutary Plan of Colonization and Government.

The new Acquisitions will naturally first attract our Attention: They are vast in extent, and richly productive of the valuable Commodities which belong to their several Climates; but besides these, we derive further Advantages from them on Account of their Situations: The Possession of those in *North America* ensures the safety of the other Colonies there; in-
somuch, that our only dangerous Neighbours, the *French*, do not think the Pittance that was left them on the Continent, worth Retaining, but by the Cession they are said to have made of *Louisiana* to the *Spaniards*, have avowedly given up for ever those great Objects, for which alone they began the War. The ceded Islands are of almost equal Consequence, for Protecting our own, and for Annoying the Settlements of the *French* and *Spaniards*, if they should be again our Enemies. But the greater the Importance of these Accessions to the *British* Dominion, so much the more Care and Circumspection is requisite in the Dispositions to be made concerning them: And such is the Difference of their Situations and Circumstances, that the same Regulations may be necessary to the one, and fatal to the other.

The Benefit which accrues to the Mother-Country from a Colony on the Continent, principally

cipally depends on the Number of its Inhabitants; that of a Plantation in the Islands arises from the Richness of its Commodities: We rely on the former chiefly for the Consumption of our Manufactures: We expect more from the Produce of the latter, for our own Consumption and for Exportation: This Distinction is so strictly true, that tho' the Supply required by the Inhabitants of the *West-Indies* is in value much beyond that which is necessary to the *Americans* in Proportion to their Numbers, yet, that Wealth, that Luxury, and those Circumstances of Climate, which incline them to Extravagance, at the same Time induce them to prefer the finer Productions of other Countries, to the coarse Commodities of our own; for the Manufactures of *Great Britain* are good, rich, and solid, but not delicate; strong without Grace; and rather substantial than elegant: To the plain, the industrious and frugal Republican or *America*, who is content with the Necessaries of Life, these are welcome, because they are useful: but they are not equally acceptable to the *West-Indians*, who think themselves intitled to Superfluities, and whose aristocratical Opulence enables them to demand the Products of the *East-Indies*, and other Countries, more similar in Climate, in Taste, and in Manners, to their own. We are therefore for the most part only Merchants to the one, and sell to them what we ourselves purchase; but we are both Merchants and Manufacturers to the other. The Returns too from each of these Countries, are as different as their Demands: The Products of the Continent are the

the Earnings of Industry ; those of the Islands are the Improvements of Wealth : To an *American* therefore a numerous Family is Substance ; but a *West Indian* must depend entirely upon his Capital : He cannot labour himself ; he can acquire nothing but by Purchase and Expence. From this Difference of Circumstances it is evident, that the Object of Government with respect to the Acquisitions in *North America*, should be to tempt Inhabitants thither, and to encourage Population ; and with respect to the ceded Islands, to enforce the speedy Culture and Improvement of Spots productive of such valuable Commodities, but still requiring a considerable Expence to raise and manage those Commodities. Lands therefore should be granted on easy Terms of Settlement in the one ; but sold under strict Conditions of Cultivation in the other.

Agreeably to these Principles, the Governors of *Quebec*, *East Florida* and *West Florida*, (we are told by his Majesty's Proclamation of the 7th of *October*,) are authorized, *To grant Lands upon such Terms, and under such moderate Quit-Rents, Services, and Acknowledgements, as have been appointed and settled in the other Colonies, and under such other Conditions as shall appear necessary and expedient for the advantage of the Grantees, and the Improvement and Settlement of the said Colonies.* The Experience of a Century has suggested this Mode of Settlement ; under the same or similar Terms to these, the whole Continent of *America* has been peopled, and near two Million of Subjects now hold by the Tenure proposed in this Proclamation. No further

further Encouragment is necessary; for Grants in the New, will always be preferred to the like Grants in the old Colonies: Novelty and Uncertainty attracts Adventurers, who besides ideal Allurements, may depend upon real Advantages; they have their Choice to a great Degree of the Lands they will take up, and the first that are taken up will probably in a few Years become valuable Estates; with these and many other Circumstances of Recommendation, there can be no doubt that the new Colonies, when put upon the same Footing with the other, will be peopled very soon. Many foreign Protestants will go thither. I fear they will be too much resorted to from these Kingdoms, and from *Ireland*, unless Employment can be found at home for those who must else seek it at a distance; but the greatest Supply will be from *America* itself; for such has been the Population of that Country, that many Parts of it can afford to furnish Inhabitants to others. The enterprizing Spirit and Passion for Discovery, which led its first Settlers thither, is not extinct in their Posterity, who are still inclined to rove in quest of new Habitations: They are all bred to the Idea of clearing fresh Lands, and of acquiring to themselves such Estates as their Fathers acquired, by those Means which they have seen so successful in their own Families. In the Provinces which are not yet well settled, this Principle operates within the Provinces themselves; but there are some, in which the greater Part of the Lands near the Sea Coasts and Banks of Rivers, are already occupied; and there the same Principle impels the younger Inhabitants to

Migra-

Migration. If the Colony should at first regret their Departure, the Loss will quickly be repaired by those who are left, and who in a few Years will be able to fill up the Intervals still remaining between the several Settlements; and with respect to the Mother Country, it is certainly very desirable that her People should be spread along every Coast and every River within her Dominions; for the Means of Subsistence will be easier there, than in the interior Parts of the old Colonies: The Settlers will consequently multiply faster, and their Consumption of our Manufactures will in the End be greater; they must apply to Agriculture alone; their Plantations will be open to immediate Access, as well for receiving our Supply, as for returning to us their Produce; and neither the old nor the new Colony, so long as they have Lands given them to cultivate, will have Hands, nor be at leisure to turn to Manufactures: the Connection of both with the Mother-Country is thereby strengthened, and thus our new Acquisitions instead of making the *British* Empire too great and unwieldly; on the contrary, enhance the Value, and secure the Dependence of our former Possessions.

That the granting of Lands in the new Acquisitions upon the same Terms as they are granted in the other Colonies, will alone produce the Effect I have described, is not Matter of Speculation only, but is founded upon constant Experience, brought down to the present Time by very recent Instances. That Part of *Nova Scotia*, which was held by the neutral *French*, has since their Removal been resorted

to with an Eagerness hardly conceivable: I am greatly within Compass when I say that it contains already above Ten Thousand Inhabitants, all settled within the Compass of Six or Seven Years; by whose Industry that Province, which so lately was considered as no more than a proper Situation for a Fortress, whose Garrison it could not subsist, will instead of being a desolate Frontier, soon become a flourishing Colony, thronged with a hardy Race of People, who by clearing away the Wood will soften the Rigour of the Climate, and find themselves richly overpaid in the inexhaustible Fertility of the Soil.

It is not Rashness to foretell a similar Progress, in the settlement of our other Acquisitions: Even *Cape Breton*, that barren Appendage to the same Province of *Nova Scotia*, is known now to contain Treasures, which the Ministry have thought so worthy of Attention, as to insert in every Grant a particular Covenant with respect to them. All Coal-Mines are, I understand to be reserved to the Crown; if they were not, the Settlers would be diverted from the Cultivation of Lands, to be Mine Adventurers, led into Enterprizes they would not be able to support, by the tempting promises with which Uncertainty flatters and seduces: On the other hand, these Collieries when reserved to the Crown, may be managed by its Officers, or let to such as are able to make a proper Improvement of them. And there is hardly a doubt of Success in the Undertaking, if it be supported by the Expence it will require: For in many parts of *America*, especially in the Neighbourhood

hood of the Great Towns, a Supply of Fuel is wanting: Such has been the Force and Extent of Cultivation, that Wood is become scarce in Countries, which were an impenetrable Forest not a Century ago; and the General Assemblies have therefore found it necessary to make Provisions for the Preservation of Timber. Coal from *Cape Breton* may on this Account be delivered in many of the Great Towns of *America*, at a cheaper Rate than any other Firing can be bought; and be the Demand ever so great, the Supply from thence will always be equal to it; For the Mines are not Veins; they are Mountains of Coal: Vast Cliffs of nothing else stand open and accessible: No Boring is necessary to find it; no Pit need be sunk to come at it; no Fire Engines will be requisite for carrying on the Works: Adequate Capitals only must be had for making the Leading Ways; for providing a sufficient Stock of Carriages, and of Draught Horses or Oxen; and for keeping a large Quantity of Coal always ready to answer the Demands that may be made. These Collieries therefore which do not seem the Objects of Grant, because in the hands of common Settlers they would either be neglected, or prove ruinous to many of the Adventurers, may under proper Management, be at the same time very advantageous and convenient to the most settled Parts of *North America*, a considerable Nursery of Seamen, and a means of subsisting useful Inhabitants in a Climate too inhospitable for much Cultivation.

This Island however, and all the Neighbouring Shores in the Gulph of *St. Laurence*, have
 C another

another Fund of Wealth in their Fisheries, which will attract Inhabitants without Number, and furnish the Means of Subsistence to all. A Resident Fishery will always overpower one that is carried on from a Distance: The People concerned in it can begin to Fish as soon as the Season permits, and will therefore be the first at Market; and the Merchants who send Ships thither from *Great Britain*, may freight their Vessels outwards, and be sure of a vent for their Cargoes, in the Colonies near to the Fisheries. By this Advantage they will be enabled to dispose of the Return at a cheaper Rate than the *French*, who have no such Colonies to take off their outward-bound Cargo: For the Profit of the *British* will be equal to that of the *French* Merchant upon the whole Voyage, tho' it should be less upon the Fish; the absolute Exclusion therefore of any *French* Settlement from that part of the World, (for I cannot call *Miquelon* and *St. Pierre* Settlements) will make such a difference between the Fisheries of the two Rival Nations; that *Great Britain* must, with respect to supplying other Countries, enjoy almost a Monopoly: And the necessary Consequence will be the Population of all those Coasts, where a Trade so beneficial and encreasing is established. Add to the Cod Fishery that of Whales, which under the Encouragement given to it during the last Sessions of Parliament, will immediately become a considerable Branch of Commerce (as I shall have occasion to shew more at large hereafter;) and there can be no doubt that in a few Years all these Coasts will be flourishing Colonies: The Prospect of their
future

future Prosperity has, we have already seen, raised a Competition for Grants of Lands there : And the general Expectation which this Competition proves, will hasten the Event it presages. Care however must be taken to remove all Obstructions which may arise from Regulations that were established at a time, when these Countries were not in Contemplation : One of these was the Duty upon Whale-fins, which is now taken off by Act of Parliament; another arises from the Act of 17 Car. 2. c. 7. s. 6. which wisely prohibits the Importation of any *European* Commodities into the Plantations, unless they have been laden and shipped in *Britain* : But in that Act itself is an Exception of Salt, for the Fisheries of *New England* and *Newfoundland*, upon which the Expence and Delay of bringing the Salt they consume thro' this Country, would have been a heavy Burthen. The Indulgence of carrying it directly from *Europe* has been since extended to *New York* and *Pensylvania*, by 13 Geo. 1. c. 5, and by 3 Geo. 2. c. 12, and among the Reasons for granting it, which are recited in the Preambles to both those Acts, the Encouragement thereby given to the Fisheries of those Colonies, will, it is said, *be highly beneficial both to the Inhabitants of the said Colonies, and to the Trade of Great Britain, and enable the said Inhabitants to purchase more of the British Manufactures for their Use, than they are at present able to do.* The same Reasoning surely applies with greater force to our unsettled new Acquisitions; and therefore the Legislature have had the precaution by an Act of the last Sessions, to provide that *Canada* and the Additions to *Newfoundland*

and *Nova Scotia* should be comprehended within the Indulgence allowed to those, who are in the like Circumstances with respect to the Fisheries.

As the Benefits arising from the increase of the Fisheries will spread themselves one way along all the Coasts of our former Colonies, they will in like Manner extend into the new Government of *Quebec*, whose Inhabitants will of course be deeply concerned in so beneficial a Trade, carried on just in their Neighbourhood: The Peltry will be another great Branch of their Commerce; and the Countenance given to one of its most valuable Articles during the last Winter, by taking off the Duty upon Beaver imported here, will be a Means of its increase. I shall reserve for another Place a more particular Account of the Regulation which relates to that Commodity, and only mention it occasionally here, as one Circumstance among many, which will tend to the Improvement of *Quebec*; but there is no Ground for any Anxiety about the Population of this Province: It is already a flourishing Colony, and raises within itself all Kinds of Provisions in great Plenty: It is said that the Inhabitants now amount to ninety Thousand: They will certainly within a short Space of Time be more numerous than they are; and their Demand upon *Great Britain* for a Supply of Manufactures must be immediately very considerable.

It would be Presumption to speak with equal Confidence of the Southern as of the Northern Acquisitions in *America*; they were never frequented by the *English*; we have not that Acquaintance

quaintance with them, which Conquest has given us with the others, and even their former Possessors were from want of Ability or Inclination, uninformed of their real Value. All Accounts however agree in representing *West Florida* as surprizingly fertile: In its natural State clearer of Wood than any other Part of the Continent, and luxuriantly productive of every Thing else; yielding spontaneously great Variety of Vegetables, abounding with Game and with Cattle, and not only promising, but actually producing Wines, Silk, and Indigo.

With respect to *East Florida*, it has been so much the Subject of Conversation, Ridicule, and Dispute, that it is difficult to form any very certain Ideas concerning it; yet that it is not known to those who depreciate it, is clear, from their Account of it: The Country they say can never be a flourishing Colony, for it is barren, and the greater Part of it is occupied by Tribes of *Indians*, more numerous and more fierce than any other in *America*: The two Circumstances are absolutely inconsistent; for where the *Indians* are numerous, the Country must be fruitful: They who do not cultivate Land, require much for their Subsistence; and if the natural Productions of the Soil are sufficient for such a Consumption, a populous Settlement may depend upon procuring Plenty by Culture. But I believe the Fact to be, that the Eastern Coasts, which alone were formerly visited, are sandy and barren: More recent Accounts however represent the interior Parts of the Country, as quite the Reverse; and at the same Time the
Indians,

Indians, who possess it, and who were once numerous, are said to be greatly reduced in their Numbers: The Mulberry and Orange Trees, the Vine, and the Indigo, and Cotton Plants, grow wild in many Parts of the Provinces: These it has in common with *Georgia* and *South Carolina*; but it has one Advantage over them, that being situated between two Seas, and out of the Reach of the bleak Winds, which blow from the *Apalachian* Mountains, it is not subject to that Excess of Cold in Winter, or to those sudden Changes of Weather at all Times of the Year, which, by the frequent Disappointments they occasion, have hitherto retarded the Progress that might have been expected, in the Culture and Management of the tender Plants abovementioned.

Both the *Floridas* are in Climate better adapted to such Cultivation than any other Colony upon the Continent; and I am confident, will be found equal in Soil to the best; to all which must be added, that as the building a Town is one of the first, but at the same Time the most difficult, because the most expensive Step to be taken in a new Settlement, this principal Object is already secured in *East Florida*, which the *Spaniards* have entirely deserted; and thereby have left *St. Augustine*, in which were three Thousand White Inhabitants, ready for the Reception and Accommodation of the *English*.

Mobile in *West-Florida*, tho' not so considerable a Place, is still large enough to obviate the Difficulties, arising from the Want of any Town at all in an Infant Colony; and both will soon increase

crease considerably, by the Resort of those who engage in the contraband Trade with the *Spanish* Settlements, for which these Places are most conveniently situated. Numbers will never be wanting to settle Countries, where immediate Subsistence is from the Fertility of the Soil so certain; and the Prospect of future Wealth is from their valuable Productions, and their lucrative Trade so very flattering; and indeed I have heard some Persons esteem the Lands there so highly, as to think they ought to have been sold: But the Experiment would have been dangerous in Countries so little known, whose staple Commodities cannot be yet ascertained, and where Population is at present the principal Object: Perhaps hereafter it may be a point deserving Consideration, whether the publick should not avail itself of the Value of the Lands it has to dispose of: At present it seems quite sufficient to make this Advantage of those Lands only, which are to be exposed to Sale in the West-Indies: for their Products and their Culture are certain; and they will find Purchasers, which the others probably might not to any sufficient Number.

But I am very glad to see that the future Opulence of the two *Floridas* is so far already in Prospect, as to prevent the Administration from being seduced by the Circumstances of Contiguity, and Resemblance, to unite them under one Government. The Expence of two different Establishments is not to be put in Competition with the Security that results from dividing a Power, which might hereafter become alarming: We have

have not a better Pledge for the Dependence of the Colonies upon the Mother Country, than that which arises from their being so many distinct Provinces : Unconnected with each other but by their Relation to *Great-Britain*, different in their Manners, opposites in their Principles, and frequently clashing in their Interests and their Views, from Rivalry in Trade and the Jealousy of Neighbourhood, they can never form an Alliance that will be dangerous to the Mother Country ; and no one of them is separately formidable : This happy Division was the effect of Accident, but it should be continued throughout by Design : And without promoting Discord or Variance between them, only by taking care that too great a proportion of Territory, People, and Wealth, be not united under one Head, and actuated by the same Motives, the Connection common to all with the Mother Country will be preserved entire, every other Bond of Union will be excluded, and the vast System of *Great Britain* and its Colonies will be permanent and compleat.

Among the Settlers in the new Acquisitions will be many Officers and Soldiers, to whom Lands are offered by his Majesty's Proclamation, in reward for their Services ; and who will defend and improve the Countries, which were won by their Valour. But this Bounty is very properly restrained with great Strictness to those who served there during the late War, who are now reduced or disbanded, and actually residing there, and who shall personally apply to the Governors for the Lands which under those Circumstances they may claim

claim in the several Proportions assigned them by the Proclamation. Were it extended to all Officers and Soldiers, many might be tempted to leave this Country, which is at all times too thinly peopled, and at present is exhausted by the War: But confined to such as served in *America*, and still continue there, the only Effect of it is to make their Residence comfortable in a Country, where without it they would probably remain.

The Encouragement given to Settlement, is not however indiscriminately extended to the whole Continent of *North-America*, tho' we have now got the Command of the whole. On the contrary, Limits are mark'd beyond which the *British* Colonies are not for the present allow'd to encroach upon the Territories of the *Indians*. The Governors of *Quebec*, *East Florida*, and *West Florida* are therefore strictly forbidden by the Proclamation, to pass any Patents for Lands beyond the Bounds of their respective Governments, and all the Governors of the other Colonies are in like Manner prohibited from making such Grants of any Lands, beyond the Heads or Sources of any of the Rivers which fall into the *Atlantick Ocean*, from the *West* and *North West*, or of any Lands whatsoever, which not having been ceded by or purchased of the *Indians*, are reserved to them as their hunting Grounds. By this prudent Restriction not only one Occasion of Wars equally impolitic and unjust with the *Indians*, is prevented; but our own Colonists are directed to Settlements of more Importance; nearer to the Sea; and nearer to the Places already well settled: where

D

their

their Means of Subsistence will be more easy and certain; their Communication with the Mother Country more frequent; and their Dependence upon it more secure; and where they will neither provoke the Indians by their Encroachments, nor tempt them by their exposed and defenceless Situation, to attack them. But another Title to Lands might be set up; That of Purchase from the Indians; which being a Transaction of private Persons only, would be liable to more Abuses, and to greater publick Inconveniencies. Such Purchases are therefore as strictly prohibited as the Grants, and in one Respect the Restraint is carried still further: for even those Lands which lie within the Limits where Settlement is allowed, but which are reserved to the Indians, may not be bought by Individuals; and if the present Possessors should at any Time be inclined to dispose thereof, the Proclamation directs, that *the same shall be purchased only for the Use and in the Name of the Crown, at some public Meeting of the said Indians to be held for that Purpose, by the Governors of the Colonies respectively within which they shall lie.* But none of these Provisions are intended to fix Bounds to the *British Empire in America*: The Proclamation does not leave room for the Supposition that the Prohibitions are to be permanent: on the contrary, it declares in express Terms that they are only *for the present, and till his Majesty's Pleasure shall be further known*; for tho' the Circumstances of that Country require them now, yet it may and I doubt not that it will hereafter appear desirable to pass these Boundaries

ries upon many Occasions, and to make Settlements in remote Countries, for particular purposes : but this should always be a Measure of Government, prudently concerted, and cautiously executed ; not left to the Decision of a single Governor, and much less to the interested Views of any Individual or Sett of Individuals.

The selfish and inconsiderate Pursuits of private Persons, have already involved the Colonies in many Disputes with the *Indians* ; and Objects of much less Importance than the Acquisition of Lands, have been productive of infinite Mischiefs. The itinerant Traders among these ignorant people, have been guilty of such Frauds and Abuses, as to create a general Distrust of our national Faith, and frequently to occasion Animosities for a long time irreconcilable. To guard against such Evils for the Future, by preventing improper Persons from being concerned in that Barter, which is their only Commerce, it is ordered by the same Proclamation, that every Person who engages in it, shall take out a Licence from the Governor for that purpose, and give Security to observe such Regulations, as may from time to time be thought proper for the Benefit of the *Indian* Trade. The Provision for future Regulations, gives Reason to hope that some are in view ; and indeed many will be necessary to secure the public tranquility, and to make all the Advantage that may be made of such an Intercourse, tho' the want of certain Information, and the late Disturbances in those Parts, may have hitherto rendered it impossible to establish them ; for it is a Work of Delicacy, as an Error once

committed cannot easily be retracted; and the Opinion, which from thence would be conceived of their new Neighbours, would not soon be removed among these Barbarians: yet now that they seem inclined to be quiet, I hope the first Opportunity will be taken to put their Trade upon such a Footing, as will make it a Bond of Union, not a Source of Depredations.

Security both from the Incursions of the *Indians*, and from the more regular Attacks of other Enemies, will greatly promote the Settlement of the new Colonies; for Planters will value Property there much higher, and be more solicitous to acquire it, when they observe that in the Disposition of the Forces in *America*, so many Regiments are stationed in *Quebec* and the *Floridas*: And when they see from the Advertisements in the public Papers for transporting Cannon and Ordnance Stores thither, that Measures are taken for putting those Provinces in a State of Defence; but the Circumstance, which will be the most powerful Inducement to Foreigners to resort thither, and which *Englishmen* before they embarked would expect to be certain of, arises from his Majesty's *paternal Care for the Security of the Liberties and Properties of those who shall become Inhabitants of those Colonies*. The Freedom and other Benefits of the *British* Constitution are promised to them, and *Directions given to the Governors* (as the Proclamation declares) *in the Letters Patent by which their respective Governments are constituted, that as soon as the State and Circumstances of the said Colonies will admit thereof, they shall with the Advice and Consent of the Members of the Council, sum-*
men

mon general Assemblies, in the same Manner as in the other royal Governments; which Assemblies in concurrence with the Governor and Council, are to make Laws, as near as may be agreeable to the Laws of England, and under such Regulations and Restrictions as are used in the other Colonies.

The Circumstances last mentioned relate equally to the Government of Grenada. The same Assurances are given, that a Constitution similar to that of *Great Britain*, shall be formed there; and the same or greater Care is taken to provide for the Security of those Islands; but in every other respect, a Policy, almost opposite to that which is proper for the Acquisitions in *America*, must be observed towards those in the *West Indies*. The characteristic Distinctions, between the two Countries, have been taken Notice of already; and the least Reflection upon those that have been mentioned, will satisfy a very cursory Observer, that more is requisite than merely to provide Inhabitants for the Islands, where Property does not consist so much in Land, as in the Stock that is upon it; Conditions of Culture are annexed to the Sale, and the strongest Pledge a Man can give of his having Substance sufficient for such a Cultivation, is his advancing Part of that Substance on the Speculation of the Profits he may make of it; for a Purchaser certainly thinks himself that he is, and most probably will be found to be equal to the Undertaking; no Precautions could have made Grantees equally responsible to the Public for the due Improvement of such valuable Property. The Objects of Acquisition would have been in reality so great, and in Appearance

so

so much greater, that all Sorts of Impositions, Interest, and Importunity, would have been used, in order to obtain them ; and where these had not prevailed, it would still have been impossible to fix the Proportions of the Allotments to the Abilities of the Petitioners ; which will now be ascertained to some Degree of Accuracy by the private Interest of every Purchaser, as he must suffer himself if he exceeds the Bounds which his Fortune prescribes to him. But their Numbers would be small, if none were admitted who had not an immediate Command of Money, sufficient to answer all the Demands of such Estates at once: The Buildings, the Negroes, the Cattle, and other Stock which are requisite, will cost more than the Lands themselves ; and to enable the Purchaser to furnish themselves with these, it is necessary to relieve them in the Payment of the Purchase Money ; Revenue itself is of less Consequence to the Public, even at this Crisis of Distress, than an effectual and speedy Settlement of these important Islands. His Majesty's Proclamation of the 26th of *March*, has therefore declared, that *the Lands shall be sold by publick Auction, and the Purchase-Money shall be paid in different Installments, Twenty per Cent. immediately at the time of Sale, Ten per Cent. within one Year afterwards, Ten per Cent. within the second Year, and Twenty per Cent. within every successive Year, until the whole is paid.* But such an Indulgence would be Weakness, if Compliance with the Terms upon which it is granted, were not rigorously enforced ; he who is guilty of a Breach of them,

justly

justly *forfeits all Right to the Lands*: and on that Condition he receives them.

Another Indulgence is converting part of the Purchase Money into an Annual Quit Rent, the Value of which the Buyers will deduct out of the Purchase Money; and they will thereby have still more of their Capital at Liberty, to answer the Demand upon them, for Clearing and Stocking their Lands. This Charge too is levied with a Lenity perfectly corresponding with the Design of imposing it; it is not to be paid on the whole Lot at once; but is gradually to creep upon it, in proportion as it becomes valuable; the Quit Rents being declared by the Proclamation not to commence till Twelve Months after the time each Acre shall be cleared, in conformity to the Condition of Clearing, which I shall presently have occasion to mention.

But still to enable Men to do Right, is not to oblige them to it: The same Means may also enable them to do Wrong, and then there will be more reason to expect an Abuse, than a proper Application of the Opportunity. Thus the Indulgences shewn to Purchasers with a View to assist them in improving their Lands, might be perverted to a quite contrary Effect, if no further Precautions were taken; for the Money thereby left in their Hands, might be and would be frequently employed only in enlarging their Purchases. All Tendencies to Monopoly are every where pernicious. unless Circumstances make them necessary: But in a new Colony they may be fatal; and must be detrimental: Too many Instances still subsisting

sisting of their mischievous Effects occur in several of the Colonies, where large Tracts of Land, which the publick Benefit requires should be cleared and settled, are kept back from Sale by the Proprietors, on the prospect of their daily becoming more and more valuable: And after this Experience it would have been unpardonable, not to have provided against the Evil. The Division of the Lands into Allotments of between One Hundred and Five Hundred Acres, to which Dimensions it appears by the Proclamation they will in general be confined, must be a Means of preventing it: As one of the strongest Temptations to the extending of Territory, the Temptation of Contiguity, will thereby be often removed: Since a cheap Purchase of one Lot, will not at all secure an equally good Bargain for the next. The Prohibition against any one Man's buying more than Three Hundred Acres in *Dominica*, or than Five Hundred in the other Islands, will have a still greater Effect: The Restriction being enforced by the forfeiture of all the Land which he shall Purchase beyond those Numbers, and of the Money he shall have advanced for such Excess; I am not speaking of a few Acres too much, by the Mistake of the Surveyor, and unknown to the Purchaser: These cannot be liable to Forfeiture, for the Crown can never take Advantage of an Error in its own Officer, to subject another person to a Penalty: And such a Penalty can in no Case be extended beyond the subject of the Provision it is intended to enforce; which Provision in the present Case is against exceeding a specified Number of Acres: And the Excess, therefore

therefore is all that can be affected by the Penalty : But the best Security of all arises from the Conditions of Culture : The Proclamation requires that five Acres in every Hundred be cleared, every Year till half the Lot is thereby brought into a state fit for Cultivation : But as Accidents and Disappointments may sometimes make it difficult to comply with this Condition, the Breach of it is not followed by so rigorous a Punishment as Forfeiture : A pecuniary Penalty of Five Pounds every Year for every Acre that is not cleared within the Term prescribed, is thought sufficient, as, no Man will continue to pay so much annually for unprofitable Lands, which he may make valuable by clearing.

One other Condition is required, which will contribute both to the Improvement and to the Security of the Islanders : *That every Purchaser of cleared Lands shall constantly keep upon his Lot, One White Man, or Two White Women, for every Hundred Acres contained in such Lot ; and in default thereof, shall be subject to the Payment of Twenty Pounds per annum for every White Woman, and Forty Pounds for every White Man, that shall be wanting to compleat the Number.* Any one who has the least Acquaintance with the *West Indies*, is apprized of the Advantages arising from White Servants both for Service and for Security. The only Question with me is, whether the Penalty be heavy enough to enforce the Observance of the Condition ; for in *Antigua* and *Barbadoes*, where a like Regulation is established under a Penalty of Forty Pounds currency, that Sum has been found to be inadequate : Very few of the Planters have their

full Complement; instead of providing all, they pay the Penalty for some, which on every Estate are constantly deficient: And this is now got into so regular a Course, as to become a settled Fund of their Revenue; so that the Penalty instead of enforcing the Law, is perverted into a Mode of Taxation: That imposed by the Proclamation is indeed to be paid in Sterling Money, but whether the difference between that and Currency will be great enough, to make the same Regulation effectual in the one, which for want of being more strongly enforced, has not been observed in the other Colonies, cannot be determined upon Speculation, but must be left to the decision of Time and Experiment.

Yet even if it should compel all the Planters to keep their proper Number of White Servants, that Number would not amount to so many White Inhabitants, as the safety of the Islands require. The Invitation given to poor Settlers by Grants of from Ten to Thirty Acres, will I hope supply the Deficiency; and the Expectation is so far well grounded, that a Policy similar to this has made *Barbadoes* the best peopled Island in all the *West Indies*. The Planters there are excused from keeping White Servants, by making small Grants to such poor Settlers: Two of these are deemed equal to Three White Servants; and by such a Substitution relieve from a Burthen the Estate which they improve. In these ceded Islands the White Servants are retained, and at the same time poor Settlers are invited by the Provision that is made for them: Which is so ample, that they will not long remain meer Cottagers, tho' they may be really
poor

poor Settlers in their Beginnings. A small Number of Acres well improved there, is no inconsiderable Property; tho' it will not raise the Possessors above the Rank they were born to, it will furnish them with all the Comforts and Conveniencies which are suitable to their Condition, and with many more than usually belong to it: Some of the Wood they are to clear will probably be of Value to sell; the rest will suffice to build their little Tenements, to make their Fences, to furnish them with a Thousand convenient Accomodations, and to supply all their moderate Demands. The Products of their small Domains will not indeed be those by which we are apt too indiscriminately to estimate *West India* Estates: Such Inhabitants as these must not expect to mimic the Opulence of other Planters; for the Lands allotted to them will hardly be of those Soils which are proper for Sugar: But they may raise Coffee, Cocoa, Cotton, Ginger and Tobacco; in process of time perhaps some Indigo; and at all times Provisions: Whatever they raise will all be their own, whatever Improvements they make will be for the Benefit of themselves and their Families.

A poor Settler, who has but ten Acres, will find himself greatly superior to any *English* Labourer; he that has thirty allotted to him, will be equal to many *English* Farmers; and Men of this Rank in Life having some Stake to lose, and yet being inured, by their Circumstances, to Hardiness and Labour, will constitute a Militia, which may be always relied on, to suppress domestic Disturbances among the Negroes, or to repel foreign Invasions; but these Lots are to

be given to those only who really mean to reside upon them; the Test of their Intention is their taking actual Possession themselves, *within three Months from the Date of the Grant, and continuing to occupy and improve the same, for twelve successive Months.* And that they may not be induced, by their Poverty, or tempted by an extraordinary Price, to dispose of their Possessions, their Lots are *unalienable by Sale for Seven Years*; this Condition is absolute; even the Governor cannot dispense with it; but he may, by his Licence, permit Leases or Mortgages to be made of them; and such Leases and Mortgages may be made without Licence, in order to provide for a Child of the poor Settler. As to his Wife she wants no Provision, till after his Death, and no Restraint is put upon his Disposition by Will; nor do any of these Restrictions subsist for more than seven Years, in which time, it is to be hoped, such Settlers will be fixed, and their Lots will be improved to a Value, which will prevent improper Alienations of them to their wealthier Neighbours, who, if not check'd by such Precautions, would endeavour to monopolize to themselves, large Tracts of Land, by taking Advantage of the Necessities of these indigent People.

The Lots being thus secured to the Persons for whose Use they are designed, the only remaining Care is to see that they are properly improved; and for this Purpose the Proclamation declares that Conditions are to be inserted in the Grants, that *each Grantee, being exempted from any Burthens, for four Years, shall, at the Expiration of that Term, pay a Quit-Rent of*

Six-

Six pence per Acre, for every Acre then cleared, and a Penalty of two Shillings per Acre, for every Acre of Land uncleared; which said Penalty of two Shillings per Acre, shall be reduced to Six-pence per Acre, as the Land shall be cleared.

Regulations so wisely adapted to the End of peopling these Islands to a great Degree with white Inhabitants, can hardly miss of their intended Effects. And indeed, their Success is of the utmost Importance; for besides the Advantages, which from thence result, to these in common with all *West India* Islands, it is particularly necessary that Numbers of *English* Protestants should be invited thither, especially to *St. Vincents* and *Dominica*, which would be otherwise more exposed than any Settlements in our Possession; for in the former are still remaining, considerable Tribes of *Carribee Indians*, to the Number, it is supposed, of about four or five Thousand, and who may be troublesome Enemies, if they are not by proper Attention reconciled to their new Neighbours. Both in *St. Vincents* and *Dominica* many *French* have settled; and tho' their Possession is not rightful, because it is contrary to Treaty; yet, since they are allowed to remain there, it is necessary that they should be out-numbered by Inhabitants, who can be more certainly relied on. It is, indeed, a doubted Question, whether their Stay is to be wished; on the one hand, tho' they are an Acquisition of Subjects, yet they are Strangers to our Manners, our Government, and our Religion; and till national Prejudices are removed, cannot be hearty Friends to the Country they now owe Allegiance to: on the other hand,

hand, they are there ; they have Property ; they have Wealth ; they are People, and People will be very much wanted ; tho' their Titles to their Estates are bad in their Origin, for the King of *France* could not grant where he had not Dominion ; and tho' therefore they cannot justly claim, yet they may reasonably desire to retain the Lands, which have been cleared by their Labour, and improved with their Substance ; to insist on their Departure, would be driving them to *St. Lucia*, where great Encouragement is given to Settlers ; and besides, Humanity revolts at the Idea of expelling from their Habitations, Men hitherto inoffensive, and who may never be pernicious, if time be allowed them to familiarize themselves to the Customs and to adopt the Principles of their present Fellow-subjects. The Experiment at least should be made, and those who are inclined to stay should not be obliged to go, by being immediately and arbitrarily stripped of their Possessions ; at the same time they have no Pretence to expect that the Lands they wrongfully occupy, should be given to them, when the *English* can acquire no Property there but by Purchase. They cannot even require to be at once considered as Natives of *Great Britain*, and to be put on such a Footing, that the Government would have no Controul over them, should their Disaffection descend to future Generations. For these Reasons, I presume, it is, that a middle way is taken between confirming them in, and expelling them from their Possessions.

The Proclamation declares that *The Lands which at the time of the Surrender of these Islands were*

were, and still are in the Possession of such French Inhabitants, shall be granted to them upon Leases for absolute or renewable Terms, upon certain Conditions, and under proper Restrictions. By accepting this Offer, they will retain their Property, under a better Title than they can pretend to now. This is alone a Favour; and their subsequent Behaviour may intitle them to greater. What Number will be induced on these Conditions to continue, it is impossible to determine, or even to guess. The two Islands are said to contain now about three Thousand French Inhabitants, who employ above nine Thousand Negroes; some will not forsake the Connections to which they have been habituated, and these are certainly not worth retaining; others indifferent to either Form of Government, will tarry where they are; and many will be sensible of the Advantages arising from the Excellence of the *British* Constitution, the Security which a Naval Power gives to its Colonies, and the Wealth of a commercial Nation, extending to all its Dependants; These last will be as valuable Subjects as the Natives of *Great Britain*.

The whole Service of disposing of the Lands in all these Islands, is to be performed by Commissioners appointed for that Purpose. They are to divide each Island into Parishes and Districts, of such Forms and Dimensions, as the Circumstances of natural Boundaries, Contiguity and Convenience require. In every Parish they must trace out a Town, its Streets, its Market-place, and other public Places, and then parcel out the Ground they shall destine for Habitations, into proper Allotments to build on.

To

To make these still more commodious, a small Field is to be annexed to each, and both together to be sold, if the Land be clear'd, upon Condition to pay the Purchase-money in the same Manner as is prescribed to the Purchasers of Plantations; and a Quit-Rent of one Penny per Foot in Front of each Town Lot, and Sixpence for every Acre of the Field, that accompanies it; if the Land be uncleared, it is to be granted by the Governor, upon Security given to build, to inclose and to fence, within such time as to the Commissioners shall seem reasonable, and to pay the same Quit-Rent as the others. The Commissioners are also to set apart such Spots as shall be deemed proper for Batteries, Forts, and other military Purposes; they are to direct the Highways from one Town to another, and to accommodate every Plantation with easy Means of Access. They are to reserve to the Crown certain Districts of Wood Lands, which by the Damps continually exhaling from them, and the Clouds attracted by them, will furnish a perpetual Supply of Moisture, to all the neighbouring Country, and prevent the Drought to which Places in that Climate, when too much cleared are frequently liable. These Reservations being made, and a suitable Number of Acres also appropriated for the Grants which the Governor is to make to poor Settlers, the Commissioners are to divide the Lands into proper Allotments, and then to advertise, prepare for, and superintend the Sale. They ought to be Men of Knowledge, Abilities, and Confidence, in whom such a Trust is reposed, to contrive for the Accommodation of a future Colony; to fix the Habitations, and to
limit

limit the Estates of the Planters; to adjust publick and private Convenience; to mix the poor Settlers with the rich, for their mutual Advantage; to distribute to each his proportion of general Benefit; and to provide for the Cultivation, the Commerce, and the Protection of such an important Dominion. This is to be their liberal, but difficult, and perhaps hazardous Employ; for the Places they are to visit like all others in that Climate which remain in their natural State, must to a certain Degree be unhealthy. *St. Vincents* and *Dominica*, where much is already clear'd, are less so than they were; but *Tobago* is almost totally uncultivated, and the first Persons that go thither would be greatly exposed, if Care were not taken to secure them from the Inclemency of the Climate: It does Honour to the Humanity of those who provided against it, by contracting, as the public Advertisements shew, for one thousand Ton of Shipping to be station'd there for a year, on board of which not only the Surveyors and Commissioners, but all Persons whose Duty calls them thither in a civil or a military Capacity, all who repair thither to view and to purchase the Lands, and in general the first Settlers, may, with the Assistance of the Vessels which must occasionally lie there, be conveniently accommodated; and every Body knows that the Unhealthiness of the Climate is confined to the Land; at Sea, tho' at ever so small a Distance, the Air is always free from the noxious Vapours, which alone occasion that Sickliness and Mortality.

It is another agreeable Circumstance to the Purchasers, that the Commissioners are Gentlemen

of such Characters, as leave no Reason to apprehend that the Power reserved to the Crown of revoking their Acts, will ever be exercised, tho' former Abuses suggested such a general Precaution, as a necessary Controul over their Conduct. Under them I doubt not the Sales will be equitably made, and the Public will avail itself of the Fairness of their Proceedings; for his Majesty, besides contributing out of the Duties belonging to him in the new Acquisitions, towards the Support of their civil Establishments, has been graciously pleased to give the Money arising from these Sales to the Use of the Public: No Conjecture can as yet I suppose be form'd of its Amount. Accident, Caprice, Plenty or Scarcity of Money at the Time, and a thousand other Circumstances, will make it greater or less; but at all Events the Purchase Money of so large a Quantity of Land so valuable, cannot be inconsiderable. *Tobago* and *St. Vincent's* are reckon'd to be each of them as large as *Barbadoes*, and *Dominica* much larger; Some Parts of *Grenada* too will come to Sale, which were never granted by the King of *France*, or the Grants of which have been forfeited on Failure of complying with the Conditions annexed to them: The whole of the new Acquisitions are together of a greater Extent than all our former Possessions in the *West-Indies*, exclusive of *Jamaica*, and are said to contain between five and six thousand Acres: Of these indeed a great part, particularly in *Dominica*, is mountainous Ground, of little Value for Sale; tho' of inestimable Importance to the adjacent Country, for which it preserves the Seasons, sends forth Rivers, and affords
the

the means of Defence; but still a great Proportion of the whole is as rich a Soil as any in the *West-Indies*, and being fresh Land, it will require less Expence, and at the same Time yield Crops far more luxuriant, than the utmost efforts of Culture can produce from an old Plantation: and tho' it cannot be brought to Perfection as Sugar Land, without a great Stock of Negroes and a considerable Charge in building, in preparing the Ground, and other Articles; yet at a very moderate Expence and in a very short time, it may be made fit for raising Ginger, Cotton, Cocoa, Coffee, Indigo, and other Commodities, which will amply compensate the Purchasers for the Money they may have expended, and will moreover supply them with a Fund for the further Improvement of their Estates, 'till they gradually become thoroughly stock'd, and in every Respect well appointed Sugar Plantations; which the Owners will then find they have acquired for a much less Sum upon the whole, than they must have given for one of equal Income in any other Island; and that Money too advanced at different Times and according to their own Convenience. But besides this general Advantage, each Island has some peculiar Circumstance to recommend it: The Situations of *Grenada* and *Tobago* will give their Inhabitants Opportunities to carry on a most profitable Trade with the *Spanish* Main: The former is besides possessed of two excellent Harbours, capable of containing any Number of Ships of any Burthen, and is never exposed to Hurricanes: It is already so far cultivated as to produce about 10,000 Hogheads of Sugar, 3,500,000lb. of

Coffee, and 200,000 lb. of Cocoa, besides some Cotton and Indigo.

Tobago is represented as one of the finest Islands in the *West-Indies*, and of such a Surface that a very small if any Part of it is unfit for Cultivation.

St. Vincents is more hilly, but the cultivable Land is excellent, and so much is already clear'd as to yield it is reckon'd about 40000*l.* annually; yet this is but a very small Proportion of the cultivable Land in the Island. Still more is clear'd in *Dominica*, whose present Produce is valued at near double that Sum; but the most material Advantage is *Prince Rupert's Bay*, which is capable of receiving and sheitering the largest Ships, and which will certainly be the principal Station of the *British* Fleet in all subsequent Wars, on Account of the Situation of the Island. It lies between *Martinico* and *Guadaloupe*, and its Cruisers can always intercept the whole *French* Trade, between those their principal Settlements: It is equally convenient for protecting the *British* Islands against the Depredations of Privateers, or more formidable Attacks: It is itself naturally strong, full of Posts, Defiles, Gullies, Rivers, and Precipices, and particular Attention is shewn in his Majesty's Proclamation to the Peculiarity of its Situation, by directing that the Lots which in the other Islands are in general to contain from one to three hundred, with some few of five hundred Acres, shall in this be for the most Part confined to between fifty and an hundred, but shall never exceed three hundred Acres: By which Provision a greater Number of Whites will be settled there than if the Lands were divided into larger
Plat.

Plantations, and *Dominica* will not only be secure in itself, but formidable both to *Martinico* and *Guadaloupe*. All these Circumstances of Advantage belonging to the ceded Islands in general, and to each in particular being consider'd ; and not only unclear'd Lands, but great Quantities which have been clear'd, and belong'd to *French* Inhabitants who have left or will leave them, or to religious Communities, who cannot be allow'd to hold them by Lease or in any Manner whatsoever, being to be sold ; his Majesty's gracious Gift to the Public will appear to be an Object worthy of *his* Generosity, and of the Gratitude of his People.

The several Steps above-mention'd with Respect to the Settlement of our new Acquisitions, both in *America* and the *West-Indies*, seem to me to have been so judiciously taken, that in all Probability these Accessions to the *British* Dominion, will in a few Years be peopled, cultivated, and in every Respect in the same Situation as our former Possessions. They will be incorporated into the general System of the *British* Colonies, be affected by the same Circumstances, and the Objects of the same Regulations. Their great Interests too will be the same, and those are also the dearest Interests of *Great Britain* ; for to imagine that they can ever be separated, much less that they can stand in Competition, is a narrow, superficial Idea. The *British* Empire in *Europe* and in *America* is still the same Power : Its Subjects in both are still the same People ; and all equally participate in the Adversity or Prosperity of the whole. Partial Advantages that opposed the general Good, would

would finally be detrimental to the Particulars who enjoyed them : The Mother Country would suffer, if she tyrannized over her Colonies : The Colonies would decline, if they distressed their Mother Country ; for each is equally important to the other, and mutual Benefits, mutual Necessity cement their Connexion. It is an indisputable Consequence of their being thus one Nation, that they must be govern'd by the same supreme Authority, be subject to one executive Power in the King, to one legislative Power in the Parliament of *Great-Britain*. Their Connexion would otherwise be an Alliance, not a Union ; and they would be no longer one State, but a Confederacy of many : Local Purposes may indeed be provided for by local Powers, but general Provisions can only be made by a Council that has general Authority ; that Authority vested by indefeasible right in Parliament over all the Subjects of *Great-Britain*, wheresoever resident in the *British* Dominions, and to which it is Rebellion to refuse Obedience, for Parliament has never exempted any from the Submission they owe to it, and no other Power can grant such an Exemption, appears from hence to be founded not only upon just Right, but upon absolute Necessity. It has been accordingly asserted and exercised without Interruption from the Time that the Colonies became Objects of Attention ; and must always subsist for the enacting of such Laws as relate to the whole, and even for controuling any particular Acts of local delegated Powers, which may contradict the general Welfare.

The

The Necessity of such a Superintendence, in order to prevent the Abuse of local tho' legal Authority, was proved by an Instance, which was under the Consideration of Parliament, during the last Sessions. The extravagant Encrease of Paper Money in some Colonies, had ruin'd the Credit of those where it was so multiplied, had embarrassed their Dealings with the neighbouring Provinces, and was destructive to the *British* Merchants who traded to *America*. These Bills were issued from Time to Time, upon Loans, as the Services of the Year, the Exigencies of the Government, or the Pretence of either, required. Funds were at the same time created, sometimes of Land, and sometimes of Taxes, for the Payment not only of the Interest annually, but of the Principal also at the End or during the Continuance of the Terms, for which they were created: But generally the Funds proved deficient, and the Bills consequently sunk in Value: This however was the least of the Evils occasion'd by their Paper Currency: Had their Discount stop'd here, it might have been born, or a Remedy might have been, as it ought to have been, applied, by creating additional Funds; but the contrary Measure was adopted: The Terms were prolong'd, more Bills were issued on Funds deficient already, and the whole Credit was hereby still further depreciated. To force these Bills into Currency, they were made a legal Tender, and that completed the Mischief. Publick Credit was ruined, for the Payment of its Debts was postponed beyond the Time limited for discharging them; or made in Bills so sunk in Value, as not to be equal to a fifth,

fifth, or even in some Cases to a tenth, of the Sterling Money advanc'd by the Creditors: Private Transactions were at the same Time equally affected: No Man knew what he should receive upon Payments to be made at any distant Time: All Contracts became uncertain; all Returns in Trade precarious; while the few Persons who concerted these Measures, had frequent Opportunities of making a private Advantage of the publick Calamity. From them who had caused the Evil, a Remedy could not be expected: It was their Influence that had led to *Acts, Orders, Resolutions, and Votes of Assembly, making and declaring such Bills to be legal Tender in Payments of Money.* The Interposition of the Parliament of Great-Britain therefore became necessary; it had interfer'd before with Respect to the four New-England Governments, and by a salutary Act made in 24 Geo. II. *to regulate and restrain Paper Bills in those Colonies,* the Credit of such Bills was retriev'd, and their Currency settled. To check the same Abuses in all the other Colonies, and to diffuse the Benefits of the like Provisions over all the British Dominions, an Act was passed during the last Sessions, by which, such Proceedings as have been above-mention'd, are strictly prohibited in all the Colonies, and every *Act, Order, Resolution, or Vote of Assembly which shall be made to prolong the legal Tender of any such Bills now subsisting and current, beyond the Times fixt for discharging the same; or to create or issue Paper Bills of Kind or Denomination, declaring them to be legal tender in Payment of any Bargains, Contracts, Debts, Dues, or Demands whatsoever,* is declared to be null

null and void. By which vigorous and seasonable Exertion of supreme Authority, this enormous Abuse will be prevented for the future, and the Bills issued by the Government there, being charged upon adequate Funds, and supported by publick Faith, will preserve their proper Value, during the whole Time of their Circulation; no Person being obliged from henceforth to take depreciated Money in Payment, the Creditors of the publick will receive as much as they advanced, and those to whom Debts are owing on private Transactions will really recover the whole that is due to them.

But without recurring to instances of Misconduct in the general Assemblies of certain Colonies, it is certain that however enlarged their Views may be, however upright their Intentions, yet their Powers must frequently fail in great and extensive Operations; confined as they are within the Limits of their respective Provinces, they can never attempt any Measures, which depend for their Success upon the concurrence of others; much less will they venture to sacrifice their own partial Advantages to the general good, when they cannot be sure that their Concessions will obtain the Ends for which they were intended. The Parliament of *Great Britain* alone can command the Acquiescence of all, and is therefore alone able to devise, conduct, and execute such Measures, as equally relate to all. This Power it has at all times exercised with impartial Sway, and has extended its parental Care to every part of the *British* Dominions; as each has on different Occasions particularly called for its Attention. No

Preference, no Privilege, no Exemption is allowed to any, not even to *Great Britain*, when her particular Interests seem incompatible with this greater System : She has frequently engaged in the Defence of her most distant Dominions, with more alacrity than the Provinces themselves that were immediately attacked : Her Debts have been accumulated by the Protection she has afforded her Colonies in times of War ; her Revenues have been freely applied in times of Peace, in Bounties and numberless other Expences for their Encouragement and Support : She has even checked her own Cultivation for the Advancement of theirs, as in the instance of Tobacco, which because it is a staple Commodity of some of the Colonies, is prohibited to be raised in this Country, except in small Quantities, and for particular purposes. But the Principles are great, the Policy is right, upon which this conduct is founded : The prevalence of these Principles at present is the illustrious Characteristic of the Times : No period of our History can within the same compass boast of so many Measures, with regard to the Colonies, founded upon Knowledge, formed with Judgment, and executed with Vigour, as have distinguished the beginning of his Majesty's Reign. The glorious Peace that ushered it in so auspiciously to his People, is a heap of Concessions forced from our Enemies, in favour of the *British* Plantations. The Tranquility it procured us has been employed in improving the Advantages both of our new and our former Possessions : In the prosecution of which great Work, the true Principles of Commerce have been attended

ded to with so much discernment and care ; the Interests of the Mother Country and those of the Colonies have been blended with so much skill ; and their Union has been strengthened by so many Bonds of Connection, Obligation and Advantage ; that every good Subject, whether in *Europe* or in *America*, must with success and stability co Measures, so wisely, so impartially adapted to the Benefit of all :

The Alteration made in the Duty upon Beaver Skins is one of these Measures, and one that is of great Consequence to a very valuable Article of *American* Produce, and to a considerable Branch of *British* Manufacture : That Commodity is absolutely necessary to the making of fine Hats ; no other Material can supply the want of it ; and as the Animal is not to be found in any other part of the World but *North America*, the Reduction of *Canada* has given us the entire Monopoly of it. The Acquisition has been made most seasonably for the preservation of the Manufacture of Hats, which had been long declining, and would perhaps in a few Years have been totally lost as an article of Exportation : For our Neighbours can generally underwork us ; and if they can be furnished with the raw Materials upon the same Terms, will always be able to undersell us : Yet the Duty upon Beaver was laid on in such a manner, that they were supplied with the Material thro' *Great Britain*, at a cheaper Rate than we could retain it for our own Consumption : Seven-pence was imposed upon every Skin imported from *America*, and a Drawback of Four-pence was allowed upon Exportation : Those that were used here were by

this means charged with Three-pence per Skin more, than other Nations paid, when supplied from hence; and the natural Consequence must be the Encouragement of their Manufactory to the prejudice of our own. In fact, the *French* had gradually gained upon us in every Market: The Manufactory was thriving in *Portugal*, and there was great reason to apprehend that it would soon be established in *Spain*, while our own Exportation of Hats was reduced above one half in Ten Years: That this great Diminution was not occasioned by a decrease in the Consumption, but only by a Change of the hands that were to supply it, appeared from the Exports of the Skins being now even greater than the Imports, of which they used to be only one Half, tho' the Imports were encreased from little more than 62,000, in the Year 1750, to above 128,000, in the Year 1763: Smuggling inwards supplied the Excess of the Exports over the Imports, and the number of Skins sent abroad last Year was so large, that had they been made into Hats here, those Hats would have produced to the Nation Sixty or Seventy Thousand Pounds more than the Skins sold for. To remedy these Evils, an Act was passed during the last Sessions, whereby the Duty is transferred from the Importation to the Exportation of Beaver Skins: A Penny only of the former Seven-pence is retained upon those Imported, in order to bring all to a regular Entry, and to be a Check upon the Trade, from whence a Judgment may at any time be formed of the State it is in: And Seven-pence is on the other hand imposed upon every Skin that shall be exported.

The

The Remedy is simple, and therefore the more likely to be effectual; but if the Six-pence which Foreigners must pay for every Skin they use in Addition to its Purchase here, does not turn the Scale in our favour, a still heavier Burthen must be imposed; and the Duty certainly will then, it may now be the means of recovering and improving a considerable Manufacture almost lost; at the same time that a Revenue is raised upon the Consumption of Foreigners, who are absolutely dependant upon us for their Supply; and our Colonies are also relieved in a material Article of their Produce.

The Indulgence shewn to them in taking off the Duty upon Whale Fins, is of still greater Consequence to *America*, and would be thought a Sacrifice of the Interests of *Great-Britain* to those of the Colonies, if she could consider them as distinct and independent of each other. The Whale Fishery has been long the Object of public Attention, and many Provisions have at different Times been made for the Recovery of it from the *Dutch*, for our own Consumption at least, which to our great Disgrace and Detriment, used to be entirely and has even till now been partially supplied from *Holland*. For this Purpose the Rigour of the Act of Navigation was relaxed, and the Trade laid open to all the Inhabitants of *England*, whether Natives or Foreigners, free of Custom by 25 *Car. II. c. 6*, but by the same Act *Fifty Shillings per Ton* is imposed on Whale Fins caught by Ships belonging to the Plantations, unless the same be imported by Ships belonging to *England*, in which Case it is reduced to *Twenty five Shillings per Ton*. This Duty call'd the

the old Subsidy is no very great Burthen, as a Ton of Whale Bone may fairly be estimated upon an Average at 250 l. but a heavier Imposition of *Three-pence per Pound* weight was laid on by 11 and 12 W. III. c. 21. upon all Whale Fins imported, which entirely ruin'd the Fishery, and made it necessary first by 10 G. I. c. 12. and afterwards by 5 G. II. c. 28, continued by several subsequent Acts, to take off the Duty; but this Relief was confined to such as should be caught in the *Greenland Seas, Davis's Streights, or the Seas adjoining thereto.* The whole Burthen still continued upon the *American Fishery*, which indeed was at that time too inconsiderable an Object to attract the publick Notice, and on the same Account was not included in the Encouragement which was afterwards given to the *Greenland Whale Fishery*: for the merely freeing it from Duty, being insufficient to establish it, the Assistance of Bounties was applied; first of *Twenty Shillings* for every Ton of Shipping employed therein, by 6 G. II. c. 23, and afterwards of *Forty Shillings per Ton*, by 22 G. II. c. 4. by which Encouragement, the Purposes of all these Endeavours were at last in a great Measure answered, and the *British Whale Fishery* began to cope with the *Dutch*, or at least to intrench on their Monopoly. The Price of Bone has in Consequence thereof been reduced from 700 l. to 230 l. *per Ton*, and that of Oil from 20 l. to 16 *per Ton*. The Oil we procured has generally been equal to our own Consumption, and sometimes foreign Markets have been supplied out of our Abundance; but we have never been able to provide ourselves with a sufficient Quantity of Bone.

Bone: Between sixty and seventy Ton having still been annually imported from *Holland*, which at the lowest valuation must be reckon'd 16000*l.* or 17000 *l. per Annum*. In this State of the Trade the Gulph of *St. Lawrence* becomes Part of the *British* Dominions, and a great Whale-Fishery is discover'd there, which was perhaps unknown to its former Possessors: The Industry of the *Americans* has improv'd it so much, that from 7 Cwt. 0 qrs. 17 lb. of Bone, which was all they imported in 1759, they in 1762 sent hither 335 C. 2 qrs. 5 lb. and in 1763, 1546 C. 3 qrs. 13 lb. and this rapid Progress has been made under the Pressure of a heavy Duty, while at the same Time, the Rival Trade to *Greenland* was supported by a very liberal Bounty. But the Inequality is now removed, and an Act was pass'd during the last Sessions, by which all Duties are taken off from Whale Fins imported from *America*, except the light Charge of the old Subsidy. The Bounty upon the *Greenland* Fishery is indeed continued by another Act 'till the Year 1768, but it will not be long or often demanded; for the *American* Whale Fishery now freed from its Burthen, will soon totally overpower the other, and this Indulgence can therefore only be meant in Favour of the Parties who have hitherto been concerned in the latter, and who are intitled to the Assistance of the Publick. to enable them to retire gradually, instead of being forced to an abrupt Determination of a Trade, which was beneficial, tho' it is now become useless to the State. A Year or two more will entirely put an End to it; and that in the Gulph of *St. Lawrence* will immediately furnish as much as was ever brought hither from

from *Greenland*, and probably far more ; so as not only to make any Supply from *Holland* unnecessary, but to enable us in Process of Time to sell at foreign Markets upon cheaper Terms than those who fetch the Commodity from *Greenland* can afford it ; for the *American* Whale Fishery being carried on in Seas little encumber'd with Ice, and consequently requiring fewer Precautions in the Construction and Equipment of the Ships, and in the Choice and the Number of the Crew; being open for a much longer Season; and at all Times less liable to Accidents, Disappointments, and Losses than the other; and the Ships employ'd in it having Opportunities to make Returns both Ways in their Voyages; with all these Advantages, it must necessarily in Time prevail over that which has hitherto flourish'd only because there was no other: but whatever may be the Event upon this Speculation, should our own Consumption alone be supplied, even in that confined View it was right to prefer the *American* to the *British* Whale Fishery. Tho' we resign a valuable Branch of Trade in their Favour, a Trade whose Produce may be valued at *Three Hundred Thousand Pounds* a Year, and in which three thousand Seamen, besides a great Number of Shipwrights, and other Artificers were employ'd; yet the Preference is given upon truly national Considerations, when the Inhabitants of *America* and of *Europe* are look'd upon as one People: It then becomes a general Benefit to promote that Fishery which has so many Advantages over the other; and which will maintain itself without the Support of Bounties, the Expence of which was near *Thirty thousand Pounds per Annum*.

Tho'

Tho' this Accession to the Whale Fishery, that of Seals and Sea Cows, the Monopoly of Beaver, and many other important Branches of Commerce, are particularly Parts of our new Acquisitions, yet the Profits arising from them, and the Benefits resulting from the Encouragement given to them, are by no Means confined to the Inhabitants of the newly acquired Territories : Other Colonies will enjoy an equal, some a greater share; The Beaver, for Instance, is not the Produce of *Canada* alone, and the Vent of it only down the River *St. Laurence* ; but the Reduction of *Canada* having open'd our Communication with all the Countries where it is produced ; it may now be brought over the Lakes, and down the Rivers, to *New-England*, *New-York*, and perhaps to still more Southern Colonies ; whose Merchants will enrich themselves with the Spoils of Desarts, they hardly knew before. The Whale Fishery seems indeed more local, but even that will be carried on by Ships sent from Ports far distant from the Gulph of *St. Laurence*, and a great Part of the Coast of *North-America* will be engaged in so beneficial an Adventure : By them it has been increas'd to its present Extent, for the Inhabitants of the Shores of the Gulph evidently cannot have been sufficient for what has been done already. But even those who are too far removed to be immediately active in the Fishery itself, will be sensible of its Effects, and partake of the Generosity of *Great Britain*. The Profits of the Colonies that are engaged in it, will circulate thro' all the others, from whom they will demand, as their Wealth and their Inhabitants increase, larger Supplies of the Commodities which they do not produce themselves ; for hardly any

one of the Plantations can pretend to furnish all the Necessaries, none all the Conveniencies of Life; and for the Superfluities, the richest and most fruitful must fetch them from many and from distant Quarters. Each has its several Staple; each its several Delicacies; which by their constant Intercourse are freely communicated from the one to the other; but throng to those Marts, to which large Demands, and quick Returns, or in one Word, Riches invite them. Trade thus diffusing over the whole, the Prosperity of every Part, not only adjacent Provinces, but the most distant, those apparently most opposite, even the *West-Indies* and *North-America*, mutually participate in the Advances they each of them make in their particular Branches of Culture and of Commerce. *Great-Britain* herself enjoys, and both in Trade and in Strength feels herself benefited by the Welfare of every particular Colony. How much more must the Colonies, which are as near in Affinity, and so much nearer in Neighbourhood, interchangeably contribute to the Advantage of each other?

In this View the Indulgence shewn to *Carolina* and *Georgia*, with Respect to the Exportation of Rice, which at first Sight may seem entirely local, if traced thro' all its distant Effects, will appear to be a general Benefit: Rice being an enumerated Commodity could not be carried from the Place of its Growth, unless to some other *British* Plantation, or to the Kingdom of *Great-Britain*: but the Rigour of this Restriction has been relaxed, and by 3 *Geo. II. c. 28.* and 27 *Geo. II. c. 18.* it is allowed to be carried directly from the Plantations, to any Part of *Europe* lying Southward

Southward of *Cape Finisferre*; the Charge of double Freight being thus taken off, *Spain* and *Portugal* who used to bring all their Rice from the *Levant*, receive it now from our Colonies, and consume 20000 Barrels every Year. The half Subsidy upon it yields some Revenue; the Bulkiness of the Commodity employs a great Quantity of Shipping; and the Demand for it has been one great Means of raising *Carolina* to its present flourishing Condition. But surely every Reason that could suggest the granting this Permission with respect to any part of *Europe*, urges the Propriety of extending it to Foreign Plantations; for tho' Rice be a very desirable Food in such Climates, it is not absolutely necessary; the want of it may be supplied by other kinds of Vegetable Provisions: And the Vent therefore will depend upon the Cheapness. If the Voyage round by *England* can be saved, and the Commodity thereby afforded on reasonable Terms, vast Quantities may be disposed of amongst the foreign Plantations; for in the short time that *Guardalupe* and *Martinico* were in our Possession, 14,000 Barrels were consumed there; and an Application was made last Winter for a Contract to deliver 40,000 Barrels in three Years at *Cayenne*, which could not be complied with, unless some Alteration were made in the Law; the *French* too are not the only Purchasers that may be expected; other Nations will be desirous of procuring Rice for their Settlements from the same Quarter, and the Negroes in all these Settlements will take off the Broken and Mowburnt Rice, which will make the good Rice cheaper, and is one Advantage that a *West*

India Market for this kind of Provisions has over an *European*. To allow therefore of its immediate Exportation thither from the places of its Growth, will be a great Encouragement to a Staple Commodity of two of our Colonies : And the measure is adopted, not upon Speculation, but on a certainty : We have no Experiment to make, we are only to accept of an Invitation, and a new Branch of Commerce is obtained : an Improvement will at the same time be made in the *American* Revenue, for the Act of the last Sessions which grants the *Liberty of Exporting Rice from South-Carolina and Georgia to any part of America to the Southward of those Provinces*, retains the half Subsidy, which amounts to about Seven-pence upon every Hundred Weight of Rice thus exported, and is the same Duty as is paid upon that which is carried directly to the Southward of *Cape Finisterre*, or being brought to *Great Britain*, is Exported from hence to any other Country.

Other Commodities, the Produce of the Colonies, but of still greater and more extensive Importance, both to the Colonies and to *Great Britain*, have this Year received that Encouragement, they stood so much in need of, and so richly deserved : The Bounties upon Hemp and Flax, which were given first by 3 & 4 *Ann.* c. 10. and continued by several other Acts, had been of late Years suffered to drop, and the Act by which they were last given, was expired : The Culture of Hemp did not succeed : Hardly any was Imported; and the Bounty being never called for, fell into Oblivion; but the encrease of the Colonies having enabled them to attend

to it again, and annually to raise large Quantities; the Renewal of the Bounty will be a probable means of procuring from thence in Course of Time sufficient for our whole Consumption, tho' it amount at a Medium of the last Ten Years, to more than 300,000*l. per Annum*. To raise so considerable an Article of Naval Stores within ourselves, to shake off our Dependance for a precarious Supply upon other Countries, who by some unexpected fluctuation in political Connections, may become adverse to these Kingdoms, and will then be able to disappoint us in a Time of Crisis, or even to occasion the Distress which they will not relieve; to wrest in short out of the hands of other States, be they ever so friendly, such an undue Influence over all our Operations, is a great object to a Maritime Power: And to procure so extensive a Branch of Trade; is equally interesting to a Commercial People: But when such an Acquisition is in view, *Great Britain* does not morosely grudge to the Colonies the greater share of it: She does not tenaciously adhere to her *com* Interests alone: On the contrary, she freely gives up the Revenue arising from the Importation of Foreign Hemp: And liberally grants out of her other Revenues the Bounties of *Eight Pounds per Ton for Seven Years, of Six Pounds per Ton for the next Seven Years, and of Four Pounds for another Term of Seven Years more, on Hemp imported from America*. The same Bounties on the like Quantities of Flax imported from thence, are, so far as that also is a Naval Store, founded upon the same Principles; but considering Flax as the principal Material in the Manu-
factory

factory of Linen, the Encouragement given to the Importation of it will contribute to another great End, which I shall presently have occasion to explain more fully, when the Duty upon Linen, with which it is connected, will, together with the other Duties which it has been thought expedient to impose, be particularly considered.

The Circumstances of the Times, the Necessities of this Country, and the Abilities of the Colonies, concur in requiring an *American Revenue*; *Great Britain* strained to the utmost of her Strength, sinks under the Exertion, and will hardly recover by Rest alone, without the Aid of Remedy: her funded Debt increased by 65,061,960*l.* 7*s.* 10*d.* for the Expences of the last War, amounts now, the 1,000,000*l.* Civil List Debt being included, to the enormous Sum of 130,586,968*l.* 4*s.* 0*d.* upon which 4,716,681*l.* 4*s.* 11½. Interest is annually paid: her unfunded Debt at the End of the War was no less than 9,061,416*l.* 11*s.* 9*d.* of which 2,464,517*l.* 13*s.* 10*d.* is this Year paid off, and 3,483,553*l.* 1*s.* 10*d.* is for the present charged upon the Sinking Fund; but the whole must be paid, before that Fund can be applied to the Diminution of the funded Debt: her Peace Establishment is at the same Time increased by the Necessity of keeping an Army in *America*, of augmenting her Fleet, and of providing for the many Expences of her additional Dominions. The whole Annual Revenue that is necessary to answer all these Demands, amounts to near 3,000,000*l.* and is raised by many, and some of them burthensome Taxes, which are imposed, not only upon the
Luxuries

Luxuries of the Rich, but which all the Researches of Invention, and all the Resources of Finance, could not find Means to keep off from the Consumption of the Poor; and great Part of them are not meer Expedients for a present Exigency, but are entailed upon our Posterity perhaps to distant Generations. The whole of this vast Revenue is raised in *Great Britain*, and is paid by the Inhabitants of *Great Britain*, excepting such Duties as are levied or retained upon Exportation to foreign Countries, or to the Colonies, and which after all Draw-backs and Bounties are allowed, make but a small Proportion of the whole; and even these, tho' produced on the Consumption of others, are still a Burthen upon the Trade of *Great Britain*; while the Colonies in *North America*, near two Million of *British* Subjects, an opulent, commercial, thriving people, and who have been enabled by the Patronage of their Mother Country to extend their Trade and their Cultivation over that fertile Continent, supported by her Wealth, protected by her Power, and blessed with her Laws, contribute to the national Expence by Taxes raised there, no more than seven or eight Hundred Pounds *per Ann.* and the Colonies in the *West-Indies*, where, tho' their Numbers are less, their Riches are greater, have remitted no more than eleven or twelve Hundred Pounds *per Ann.* to *England*: The whole Remittance from all the Colonies at an Average of thirty Years has not amounted to 1900*l.* a year, and to make it still more ridiculous, the Establishment of Officers necessary to collect this 1900*l.* amounts to 7600*l.* *per Annum.*

There

There is no Occasion to accompany this Account with any Observations ; only to state it, is to prove the Necessity of an additional *American* Revenue ; they can certainly bear more ; they ought to raise more : The Subjects and the Mode of new Impositions are therefore the only Considerations ; but to lay them on Subjects, and in such a Manner as would not be oppressive to those who were to pay them, would not be dangerous, in the delicate Situation of the Colonies, with respect to their Trade, their Improvements, and their Connection with the Mother Country, and would at the same time apply equally to all, in their different Stages of Progress from Infancy to Maturity, was a Measure that required the utmost Caution, Circumspection, and Care : It came under the Deliberation of Parliament the last Winter, and by their Wisdom an Act was passed to be the Foundation of an *American* Revenue, which is formed upon such Principles, that the Increase in the Revenue, which may be expected from it, tho' very considerable, seems the least important Object ; so very judicious, so very interesting are the several Provisions of this Act, for the Purposes of Commerce and Colonization.

To encourage the Consumption of our own Produce and our own Manufactures, in preference to those of other Countries, has been at all times an undisputed Maxim of Policy ; and for this Purpose, high Duties and even Prohibitions have been laid upon foreign Commodities, while Bounties have been granted on our own. The general Tendency of the Act now before us is to extend the
same

same Principle to the *American*, as is followed in respect to our home Trade and Consumption. One general Clause with this View diminishes the Draw-back allowed on Re-exportation, and enacts that *no Part of the Rate or Duty, commonly called The Old Subsidy, shall be repaid or drawn back, for any foreign Goods of the Growth, Production, or Manufacture of Europe, or the East-Indies, which shall be exported from this Kingdom to any British Colony, Wines, white Callicoes, and Muslins, only excepted*, which are otherwise provided for. In many Articles this will give a Turn in favour of *British* Produce and Manufactures; in some, it may be an Inducement to the Colonies to apply to the Cultivation of Commodities, they may very well raise, but have hitherto neglected; but in none can it be oppressive to retain all the Old Subsidy, the whole of which is a very low Duty, and half of it is retained already; these foreign Commodities will still come much cheaper to the *Americans* than they do to their fellow Subjects here, who pay on almost all of them some, and on many of them very large additional Duties, and indeed can in general afford to pay more. The Revenue too of the Customs here will be increased, from the great Quantity of Goods, upon which this saving of the Draw-back will be made; and tho' it would be tedious to enter into the Detail of the numberless Articles, and the various Rates upon the several Articles that will be affected by it, without which Detail, no exact Calculation can be made of the Produce to be expected from this Duty; yet the general Computation, and which certainly is very moderate,

that the Goods imported annually from *Great Britain* into *America*, amount in Value to the Sum of 1,400,000*l.* and that one Third of these are foreign Goods re-exported from hence, make a very low Duty upon so great a Consumption, no contemptible Object; but besides these, it is commonly supposed that foreign Goods to the Amount of 700,000*l.* are annually smuggled into the Colonies, and should the Regulations, I shall presently mention, to have been made for the Prevention of all illicit Trade, have the Effect that is to be wished, to bring the greater Part of these too in the regular Channel thro' *Great Britain*, in which Case the whole Subsidy would be retained on them also, which now yield nothing, then the Amount of this Duty upon all, will really be considerable.

Among the Goods that are the Subjects of this Tax are the foreign Linens, which thereby become less merchantable for this Trade, than the *British*; on the other hand, a rival Manufactory is apprehended in *America* itself, and enhancing the Price of Linens, exported from hence, will, it is said, be a Means of encouraging it. For myself, I own I am under no such Apprehensions, and the Facts that are alledged to support that Opinion, seem to me to prove the contrary. Great Quantities of Linen it is true are made there already; but then the Manufactory is almost confined to *Pensylvania*, and there the weaving Part of it is carried on entirely by the *Germans*, who transport themselves thither in great Numbers every Year, and carry their Mystery with them. For a present Subsistence on their Arrival, they follow the

the Business they were bred to, but as soon as they get enough to enable them to settle a Piece of Land, (which they soon may, when they can earn Three Shillings and Six-pence *per diem*,) they find farming the more agreeable and more advantageous Employment: they turn to it themselves, and train their Children to that only. A Manufactory thus deserted by those who are engaged in it on the first Opportunity that offers, and dependant upon fortuitous Circumstances for Existence, can never be considered as flourishing and established: Nor is there any Prospect of its being otherwise; for the Extent and Fertility of the Country is so vastly disproportionate to the Number of Inhabitants, that good Lands are in most of the Colonies an easy Acquisition, to those that will clear them, and where Estates may thus be raised by meer Tillage, all Temptations to Manufactures are wanting; Men who can depend upon their Industry alone, will not have recourse to Arts for Subsistence; and a Father, who can enable his Son to provide for himself, by taking up a Piece of uncleared Land for him, as soon as he is of Age to manage it, and till then has his Assistance in cultivating that, which he himself had cleared in his Youth, will think Money and Time both thrown away in teaching him a Business not so good as his own, and by which it will appear to him that his Child is pre-maturely taken out of his Family. He really can with less Expence set him up in a Farm than in a Trade, and he knows that a Farmer who cultivates improvable Land for his own Advantage, is in a better Situation than a Manufacturer: It is just the

Difference between a substantial Yeoman, and a Journeyman Weaver, So long therefore as the *Americans* can get Land at an easy Rate, they will apply to the Cultivation of it in preference to all other Employments: and it is the Glory of the last Peace, that it has furnished them with Territory sufficient to subsist their People in all their Increase to very distant Generations. Still however it may be said all Manufactures in the Colonies are not carried on by Foreigners only; including even those that go from these Kingdoms, who so far may be considered as Foreigners there: Many Natives of *America* it may be urged are amongst them; and it is true; accidental Circumstances engage them, and the Necessities of the Country require them; for there is a certain Degree of Manufacture attendant upon Cultivation, in order to convert to its proper Use the whole of every Production, some Parts of which might otherwise be left a worthless Refuse on the Hands of the Planter. In the Article of Flax, for Instance, which has hitherto been raised in *America* principally to supply the Demand of Flax Seed for sowing, and other Purposes here, the Stalks must be thrown away, if there is no Opportunity to export or to spin them. Hitherto the Exportation has not been found to answer; and therefore the Farmers employ their Families in spinning, when the Rigour or Inclemency of the Season confine them within doors: This is the real Foundation of their Linen Manufactory; They have hitherto proceeded no further than this has carried them; nor is it likely they should soon make a greater Progress; for even in *Pennsylvania*,

sylvania, where more Flax is raised and more Weavers are settled, than in any other Province, common Labour is so dear, that if a Farmer cannot spin his own Flax in his own House, and by his own Family, he will not find his Account in putting it out to be spun: if that Expence falls upon him, he can supply himself cheaper with Linen from *England*: So very small is the Advantage of Manufacturing for themselves, and so very confined is such a Manufactory: Materials will never be purposely raised to supply it, it cannot bear the Expence of all its several Branches, if those employed in them are to apply themselves to no other, nor will it ever produce such a Quantity of Merchandize, as to become an Article of Commerce; yet limited as it is in its Nature, it will probably rather diminish than increase, now that the Parliament has granted a Bounty as above-mentioned on the Importation of Flax: The *American* Planter will no longer complain that his Flax Stalks must be wasted if he does not Manufacture them: but a Vent being opened for them into *Great Britain*, whither he could not afford to send them before, this will probably be found to be the most advantageous Manner of disposing of them.

But there are more cogent Reasons still of a public Consideration against the Attempt to extend such a Manufactory; for tho' the Inhabitants of these Kingdoms and of *America* are equally Subjects of *Great Britain*, yet they serve the State in different Capacities; and if to make unwarrantable Distinctions between them would
be

be Oppression ; on the other hand to preserve the Distinctions which the Difference of their Situations has made, is true policy, which has the general Good for its Object : Extent of Country, Fertility of Soil, Cheapness of Land, Variety of Climate, and scarcity of Inhabitants, naturally lead the *Americans* to Cultivation : There are hardly any Productions of the Earth which they cannot raise ; including the *West India* Islands I believe there are none : But putting them out of the Case for the present, the Continent alone can produce Provisions for Subsistence, Commodities for Commerce, and the raw Materials for Manufacturers to work with, in much greater Variety, in Quantities immeasurably larger, and on Terms by far more easy than they could be raised in *Great Britain* ; here on the contrary, landed Property is very valuable, and but a small proportion of it still remains improveable to any considerable degree, by force of Cultivation only ; so that the Occupation of Land is rather a Means of vesting than of acquiring Money. But the Inhabitants of *Great Britain* are more than sufficient for its Cultivation, and must seek for Fortunes, and even for Subsistence in Trade and Manufactures : They have Science, Experience, and Skill, supported by Riches and Credit equal to any undertaking, while a constant Correspondence and easy Intercourse between themselves, and a universal Commerce to all parts of the Globe, enables them to dispose of all they prepare for Merchandize : In every one of these Articles so necessary to Manufactories, they have greatly the Advantage of the *Americans* ; a

the

the Basis of all, manual labour, is cheaper here than it is there, so great is their Demand to clear the immense Tracts which still lie waste, and to improve those which they have hitherto been able to cultivate but partially. The Manufactures therefore of *Great Britain* must on all these Accounts be superior in Quality, and lower in price than those of *America*. And the necessary Consequence from the different Circumstances of the two Countries is, that neither can encroach upon the other in the Articles that are particularly adapted to each, without Prejudice to both : Commerce is in many respects common to both ; but Lands are wanting in the one for Produce, and hands cannot be found for Manufactories in the other : Should then the *Americans* attempt to extend their Manufactures beyond the point, to which the convenience of the Planter, and the accidental Circumstances of Individuals, will naturally carry them, should they endeavour to establish them as Branches of Commerce, they would immediately raise the price of Labour already extravagantly high ; they would draw off their people from their proper Employment in Agriculture ; retard the clearing of the Country ; check all Improvements of Land ; load its produce with an additional Expence ; enhance the Value of all the Necessaries of Life ; and their success in the End, if they should succeed, would be less Detrimental to their Mother Country, than to themselves. Success however is not to be expected : The Difficulties that will arise from the Circumstances of the Country and the Genius of the People, both naturally adverse to Manu-
factures,

factures, are too great for any Individuals to struggle with; for it will be no easy Task to persuade the *Americans* to forsake the rich Lands that invite their Culture, and promise an ample Recompence for the Labour bestowed upon them; to leave the ways their Fathers trod, and in which themselves were trained; to drop a Business which they already understand, in which they have had a long Experience, and by which all their Family have thriven; in short, to change all their Habits of thinking, and their whole Manner of Life; in order to apply to Arts which they do not know, or know but imperfectly, with a great loss of Time, and at an uncertain Expence, in pursuit of precarious Gain. Yet all this must be effected before regular extensive Mercantile Manufactories can be established in any considerable Numbers in *America*: Those that subsist there now, are of a quite different Nature, arising out of Agriculture itself, as one of its natural Effects, which instead of Checking, encourages its Progress: That of Linens has no other foundation; and when its Extent is fully examined, it will be found not to have passed beyond the Bounds, which such a source would naturally supply. For it is not to be imagined that they manufacture all they do not Import from *Great Britain*: Large Quantities are annually sent thither from the Ports of *Holland* and other Countries on the *German Ocean*, in Ships employed in an illicit Trade with the Colonies. Others are smuggled in by smaller Parcels from the Foreign, particularly from the *Dutch Islands*; and no inconsiderable Quantity is constantly brought
by

by the *Germans* who go to settle there in great Numbers every Year; many of whom have, with them one, two, three, or more, Pieces of Linen, which they find Means to land clandestinely, and dispose of at moderate Prices. These Deductions being made from the Difference between the Exportation from hence, and the Consumption in *America*, the Remainder, which is all that they manufacture themselves, will be found to be much less than is usually supposed.

The Subject is capable of a much larger Discussion than I have Room for; but the Reasons that have been mentioned, may perhaps be sufficient, without urging them any further, or supporting them with others that might be given, to shew that all Attempts to establish Manufactures in *America*, to an Extent that may be alarming to *Great Britain*, must prove abortive in the End; at least, the additional Duty upon Linens affords no Ground for such Apprehensions: it is but half a Subsidy that is imposed, which is too inconsiderable upon the whole to make a material Difference: the Tax it is true, falls unequally, as Linens of very different Prices pay the same Duty, being comprehended under the general Denomination of *Narrow Germans*. This is a Grievance that is equally felt in *Great Britain*, and which I hope will be thought deserving of a Remedy: Could a Line of Distinction be drawn between the finer and coarser Linens, that are now included within the same Description, and such I should think it would not be impossible for Persons engaged in that Trade to draw, I flatter myself that it would be adopted: but in the mean while, the

Americans have no greater Reason to complain than the *English* of this Disproportion ; and as to the actual Duty required of them, they must still consider themselves as favoured, not oppressed, when they reflect that upon the cheapest of these Linens, those on which the Duty is most burthenfome, the old Subsidy is but about Three Shillings, and Nine-pence Three Farthings upon a Hundred and Twenty Ells, which is all that they are now to pay, and half of which they paid before ; while the several Imposts paid by the *English* for their Consumption upon the same Quantity of the same Linen amounts to about One Pound, One Shilling, and Four-pence, Three Farthings, which is a greater Disproportion of Burthen, than their different Situations and Circumstances require.

Should there, however, be any *Americans* so unreasonable, so rash, as on this Account to engage in the Establishment of Linen Manufactories there, and supposing a Contrariety between the Interests of *Great Britain* and its Colonies, affect to support the one, to the prejudice of the other ; they can still proceed in their Attempt no further than the Mother Country will allow : I do not mean to suggest prohibitory Laws ; but Laws to which no *American* could form an Objection, would effectually thwart all their Endeavours. It has been already observed, that the only Circumstance which enables the Planter to manufacture Linens cheaper than he can buy them when imported from hence, is because he does not pay for the Spinning ; this was the Case under the Duty of half the old Subsidy : Should it for the Sake of Argument be supposed, (tho'

I cannot believe,) that the additional halt Subsidy will turn the Scale, and enable any Person there, tho' he were to pay for the Spinning of the Flax, to make Linen cheaper than it can be bought; which is the most that can be apprehended; it will always be in the Power of *Great Britain* to reinstate Things where they were, and if the additional Duty has caused an Alteration, the taking off that Duty must necessarily restore the imported Linens to their former Price, which is lower than *American* Manufacturers can afford them for; while on the other Hand, a Bounty upon *American* Flax, imported into *Great Britain*, will give the *British* Manufacturer a still further Advantage over the *American*, and enable him even to purchase his Materials cheaper. Thus by easing the Colonies of a Tax on their Consumption, and by giving Encouragement to their Produce, both which the Mother Country ought upon all Occasions to do, as far as the Exigencies of State will allow, *Great Britain* has it in her Power to disappoint any Establishments of this Kind that are contrary to the general Good; and however Individuals may be affected, the general Assemblies in their respective Provinces will never upon mature Deliberation support the Prosecution of Designs, which have a direct Tendency to hurt the Manufactories of the Mother Country, to check Cultivation in the Colonies, and to lessen the Navigation of both.

The whole Objection, however, against the additional Duty on Linens, applies to the coarser Kinds, upon which alone a Burthen in itself so inconsiderable, can be felt at all: On

the finer Kinds, even of the narrow *Germans*; it is not pretended that it is too heavy; much less will there be any Room to cavil at an Increase of Duty upon *French* Lawns and Cambricks, tho' considerably greater than on the other Linens, being instead of Half the Old Subsidy, three Shillings *per* Piece, at thirteen Ells to the Piece. The *Americans* will still pay but about half what used to be paid by the Consumers in this Country, when *French* Cambricks and Lawns were allowed to be worn; and the Principles upon which they have been prohibited here, dictate some Restraint at least on the Consumption of these Commodities in the Colonies, which in effect is laid by the Imposition of a higher Duty upon these than upon other Linens

The same Observations apply to the prohibited *East India* Goods, the wrought Silks and the painted Callicoës; they are prohibited in order to oblige the Company to import the Silk raw, and the Callicoës white for our own Manufactures. The Indulgence however of wearing them is not taken away from the Colonies, but the Act of the last Sessions lays them under the Discouragement of a Duty of Two Shillings *per* Pound Weight on the wrought Silks, and of Two Shillings and Six-pence *per* Piece on the painted Callicoës. This indeed is a considerable Rise upon the half Subsidy they paid before, which amounted to no more than Four pence Farthing *per* Pound Weight on the former, and Three pence *per* Piece on the latter; but it hardly yet exceeds a Third of the Duty that was charged upon them, while their Consumption was

was permitted in this Country: Six Shillings *per* Pound on the *East India* wrought Silks, and Three Shillings and Six-pence *per* Piece on the painted Callicoes, together with Fifteen *per Cent.* on the gross Price of the latter, did not check that Consumption so much as the Interests of our own Manufacturers required, and made a Prohibition necessary: for such is the Delicacy and the Beauty of these Commodities, that Persons who pique themselves on Elegance, and can afford to gratify their Taste, will not be deterred from the Indulgence, by a much heavier Duty than is now levied on the *American* Consumption. This Consideration solves the Doubt that has been furnished, of the Operation such a Tax may have on the Demand of the Foreign, particularly the *Spanish* Colonies, for *East India* Manufactures: I believe it will have none, or at least no considerable Effect: for there is not a People upon the Globe, to whose Use, to whose Manners, and whose Dispositions, these Commodities are more particularly adapted: No other resemble them so much, as to be easily substituted in their Room; and the advanced Price will not raise them to a Value too extravagant for such Purchasers; but should it be said that the *Dutch* will now be able to furnish them at a cheaper Rate; the Answer is, that the Piece Goods of *India*, have been long imported by our Company in larger Quantities than by any other: that the Concessions made by *France* in the late Treaty of Peace, with respect to the *East India* Trade and Settlements, will in this Branch particularly give us still greater Advantages; and that the *Dutch* therefore must as they actually do provide

provide themselves with the greater Part of their Supply at our *East India* Sales: Upon all that they buy there, they pay a Commission and a Freight, from which the *British* Merchant is free, and which perhaps may be an Equivalent for the Duty: If it is not, the Remedy is obvious, it is but spreading the same Imposition or a Part of it over all Exportation of such Goods, and then the Situations of the *Dutch*, and *British* Merchants, with Respect to each other, will again be, just what they have been hitherto. Muslins and White Callicoës, which are not prohibited, are rated by the Act of the last Sessions, but in a different Manner, higher than other Linens; for instead of retaining the additional half Subsidy, a Draw-back of Four Pounds Fifteen Shillings upon every Hundred Pounds of their gross Price at the Sale is retain'd, upon all that are exported to *America*. This is less by almost three Fourths than the Duty paid by the Consumers of the same Commodities in *Britain*; yet under that Weight the Manufacture of printing Callicoës has flourished, and we may therefore reasonably expect that it will not be oppress'd by a Burthen comparatively so light upon printed Callicoës consumed in the Colonies; especially when we consider that the additional Value they acquire by the Manufacture is not taxed, those printed in *England* being construed to be but White Callicoës within the Description of the Acts of Parliament that relate to them: and other Linens which have gone thro' the same Manufacture, and which are now become of such general Use, both

both for Apparel and Furniture, are free from the Duty on Callicoës.

The Distinction made in this Act of Parliament between the *French* Lawns and Cambricks, the *East India* Callicoës and Muslins which are all high-priced, and other Kinds of Linen which are in general of a lower Value, will I hope justify me in saying, that if a Line could be drawn between the finer and the coarser Linens, which now pass indiscriminately under the Denomination of Narrow *Germans*, it would probably be adopted : if it were, the Duty upon all Kinds of Linens would then be throughout compleatly agreeable to the equitable Maxim of laying Taxes in different Proportions, on the Consumption of the Rich, and on that of the Poor : that while the Indulgencies and Refinements of the one are converted into beneficial Branches of the Public Revenue, the other may with more Chearfulness contribute out of their Pittance the Mite they owe, to the Service of the State they belong to. The Inhabitants of the *West Indies*, whose Opulence, whose Luxury, and I might say, whose Situation leads them into more Extravagance in such Articles, than prevails among the Inhabitants of the Continent, will therefore be more sensibly affected by these Duties, in which the Value is to a certain Degree made the Measure of the Duties ; but it is right that throughout all the *British* Dominions, the Necessaries of Life should be less burthened than the Superfluities, and that all his Majesty's Subjects, wheresoever dispersed, should contribute to the publick Revenue,

venue, in Proportion to their Abilities, and not to their Numbers.

A Duty upon Wine comes within the same Description of a Tax upon Luxury, but the Regulations made during the last Sessions of Parliament, with respect to the several Sorts of Wine for the Consumption of *America*, are so different, and founded upon such peculiar Circumstances, that it is difficult to say whether in the Event it will prove, that an Imposition has been laid or taken off from that Commodity. The Wine that has been hitherto exported from hence to the Colonies, has been allowed no other Draw-back than on any other Exportation. But the Colonies have always been permitted to import Wine from the *Madeiras* and the *Azores*, without bringing it thro' *Great Britain*; the natural Consequence of the Saving thereby made, both of Freight and of Duty, has been a Preference of these to all others, so that these are become almost their only Consumption. The Inhabitants of *Madeira* have on this Account long had a kind of Monopoly of the Wine Trade to our Colonies, and have taken the Advantages which Monopolists usually take, of advancing the Price and lowering the Quality; as the Demand increases with the Population of the Colonies, the Oppression must be the greater, and it is already such as to make it necessary to bring the *Madeira* Wines nearer to a Level with others: with this View a larger Draw-back than formerly is allowed on all but *French* Wines, exported from hence to the *West Indies* and *America*; for instead of Eleven Pounds, Thirteen Shillings and Six-pence *per Ton* Duty which

which used to remain, but Three Pounds, Ten Shillings is from henceforth to be retained here, Ten Shillings is imposed in the Colonies to make the respective Custom-house Accounts, Checks upon each other. But while the Duty is lowered on these, a new one of Seven Pounds *per* Ton is imposed on those of the *Madeiras*, and other Places from whence Wines may be lawfully imported into the Colonies. As a Luxury, they ought in justice, and as a Monopoly, they ought in Policy to be taxed; but should the Effect of these Regulations be such as may reasonably be expected, the Price of Wines in general will rather be lowered than advanced by the Duty upon one Species of them only. Such as are carried from hence will certainly be cheaper by Seven Pounds, Thirteen Shillings and Sixpence *per* Ton, than they used to be; they will for the most Part too be cheaper than those of the *Madeiras*, their original Price, and the Duty upon them being so much less, as to overballance the Difference of Freight. The Demand and consequently the Price of the latter will thereby be lessened: they will be no longer a Monopoly, because no longer a Necessary, and will therefore be cheaper than they are now; and this Tax upon a Luxury of foreign Growth, co-operating with the Encouragement given to Exportation from hence, will have the still further beneficial Effects of improving at the same time Navigation and Revenue.

Luxuries even of our own Growth do not escape Taxation; Coffee, the Produce of the *British* Plantations, is charged with Seven Shillings the Hundred Weight, and Pimento with

an Half-penny *per* Pound. The Duties indeed are light, for it is not meant to prejudice the Consumption of Commodities, of which we must wish to encourage the Cultivation; but only that those who can afford to indulge in such Delicacies, should contribute something to the publick Wants, and ease from heavier Burthens the Necessaries of the Poor: if the Tax went further, it would be pernicious, in loading too much the valuable Produce of some of our Colonies. The Intention of the Legislature appears to have been on the contrary, to encourage the raising of Coffee in our *West India* Islands, by giving it an Advantage over that produced in foreign Plantations, upon every Hundred Weight of which a Duty of Two Pounds Nineteen Shillings and Nine-pence is by the same Act imposed. So great a Difference of Duty upon a Hundred Weight, the prime Cost of which will not exceed Three Pounds, must give a Preference to our own Produce, which is particularly recommended to Public Encouragement, by the Circumstances of being raised with less Expence than Sugar, and therefore within the Reach of the first Settlers in the ceded Islands.

The same Reason holds, and perhaps more strongly, with respect to Indigo, which, if imported from foreign Plantations into any of our Colonies, is by the Act so frequently referred to, charged with a Duty of Six-pence *per* Pound, while our own Produce passes free. Indigo is a Commodity, which particularly attracts our Notice at this Juncture; great Quantities of it used to be raised in our *West India* Islands, but for many Years very little has been produced; and

we have been in a great Measure supplied by the *French*. The Reason of this has not been, (as is commonly supposed,) the high Duties that were laid upon it, but the clearing of the Country; for Indigo is a Plant that requires Moisture, which nothing can secure in those torrid Climates, but the Proximity of Mountains to break the Clouds in their Passage, or of Woods from whence Vapours are continually exhaled, to refresh the Neighbourhood with Showers: as the Woods have been cut away, this Resource has gradually failed, and the Produce of Indigo, which depended upon it, has declined in Proportion. The *West Indians* regret but little the Loss of a Commodity, which has made way for a greater Cultivation of their favourite Produce, Sugar; but the Nation must sensibly feel the Inconvenience of being furnished from other Countries, with so valuable an Article of Commerce, and so necessary a Material of Manufacture.

This Consideration has induced some Planters in *South Carolina* to attempt to raise it there, and they have already succeeded so far as to prove, that the Soil and the Climate agree with the Plant, and that they are acquainted with the Art of extracting the Juice, so as to equal the finest in Quality. The great Losses they sustained by the Captures of their Ships, have a little retarded their Progress: but now that Peace is restored, there is reason to expect that this Cultivation will flourish, and even be extended to *Georgia* and the two *Floridas*, which are rather better adapted to it than *South Carolina*. To make the Indigo they shall raise

cheaper than any that can be imported from the *French* Islands into *America*, will facilitate the Attempt to recover this Commodity, and be very serviceable to those Colonies: the ceded Islands too will have their share of the Benefit, as the Certainty of Moisture from the Woodiness of the Country, and the Cheapness of the Culture, will render this a very proper and a very considerable Article of Produce to those who may purchase or settle there.

Another, and that a most important Branch, both of Commerce and of Revenue, I mean the Produce of the Sugar Cane, in its several States of Melasses, Rum and Sugar, has been under the Consideration of Parliament, during the last Winter; and the Degree of Restraint put upon the *French* Trade in this Article, is proportioned to the Stage of Manufacture, in which the Commodity may be at the Time of Importation: Rum is Melasses manufactured: The *French* were unacquainted with the Art, or at least, did not give into the Practice of making Rum, till taught and led to it by our People, while we were in Possession of their Islands: At that Time some Distilleries were set up for this Purpose, which are said to be continued since the Peace; but they can never be of any consequence, if we do not help the Persons concerned in them to dispose of what they produce. *France* will not permit her Colonies to establish a Manufacture that shall interfere with any Branch of her own, and will therefore prevent the making of Rum, so far as it affects the Consumption of her Brandy. There can for this Reason be very little Vent for it, unless
by

by Exportation to our Colonies on the Continent: but hitherto those very Colonies have had the manufacturing of the *French Melasses*; and to permit them now to be brought in any other Shape than as a raw Material, would be very detrimental to the *North America* Distillery: A strict Prohibition is therefore laid on all *Rum or Spirits of the Produce or Manufacture of any of the Colonies or Plantations in America not in the Possession or under the Dominion of his Majesty, his Heirs or Successors*, in order to force the *French* to supply the Demands of our Colonies for their Melasses, tho' they can make it into Rum themselves, and tho' the Trade should undergo some Alteration by new Duties and new Regulations.

That Trade was indeed in a Situation that required some Alteration. By 6 *Geo. II. c. 13.* a Duty of Six-pence *per* Gallon was laid upon all foreign Melasses; but such has been the Disregard of all Revenue Laws in *America*, that this has produced hardly any Thing, tho' the Commodity has been imported all the time in great Quantities. Instead of paying the Duty, a regular Course has been fallen into of importing it free of any; and the Expence of such Smuggling has been brought to a Certainty of about Three Half-pence a Gallon; which was a Charge upon the raw Materials before it came to the Manufacturer, amounting to one Fourth of the Duty, and destructive of the whole: under this Charge the Distilleries of *North America* have flourished to a surprizing Degree; and surely it is to be wished that the Burthen now upon the Merchandize, should yield a Revenue to the Publick instead of a Profit to Smugglers,

glers, or which is worse, to Officers of the Crown conniving at Smugglers : but it has been said that the excessive high Duty, imposed by the 6 Geo. II. was the Cause of the Smuggling, and that nothing will put a Stop to it but reducing the Tax. The Fact is probable; the Legislature seem to have thought that the Load was heavier than the Trade could bear; and have therefore reduced it from Six-pence to Three-pence *per* Gallon : this still is represented by some as too high; and indeed whatever Rate is fixed, will in all Probability be censured by those whom it affects; but so far is certain, that a Duty may always exceed the Expence of Smuggling; for no Man will expose his Character to Reflection, and his Property to Hazards, without the Temptation of Advantages over the fair Trader. And as Three Half-pence *per* Gallon was the Expence of Smuggling, while a general Relaxation of the Laws against it prevailed over all that Continent, now that these Laws are rigorously put into Execution, that Charge will be higher in Proportion to the additional Risque of Seizures; and at the same time the Temptation is less by the Difference between Three-pence and Six-pence. These Reasons concur to prove that a Duty considerably higher than Three Half-pence *per* Gallon may be imposed upon Melasses, without being, by its Excess, an Inducement to Smuggling. The next Question is, what the Trade can bear without being oppressed by it : It certainly can bear more now it is established, than it could in its Beginnings; it has thriven, it has increased, it continues to increase, under a Charge of Three Half-

Half-pence *per* Gallon; and as Experience has shewn that it can support such a Burthen, with Ease, the Presumption is from thence alone very strong, that it is equal to a greater without Inconvenience. The additional Charge upon the Commodity, by the Duty of Three-pence, is but Three Half-pence, so much only being the Difference between the former and the present Price of Importation: and as a Gallon of Melasses produces a Gallon of Rum, an Addition of Three Half-pence does not appear to us a severe Tax upon a Gallon of Rum. The cheapest Spirits that are drawn in *England*, pay a Duty of One Shilling and Five-pence Half-penny *per* Gallon to the Publick; and to expect that our fellow Subjects should contribute Three-pence *per* Gallon for their Consumption of the same Commodity, is surely not very unreasonable; so much therefore of the Produce of their Distilleries as is necessary for supplying the Colonies themselves, is certainly not taxed beyond what it ought to be. But it is alledged that the Fishery, the *Guinea*, and the *Indian* Trade cannot support the consequential Rise upon Spirituous Liquors, and that both the Distilleries and these Branches of Commerce will sink under the Burthen together. The Demand for the Fisheries is not to furnish the *American* Ships only, but to supply those also that are sent for the Purposes of fishing from *Great Britain*, and do not carry out with them sufficient Store of Spirituous Liquors. Whatever Quantity the latter take from the *American* is a Loss to the *British* Distilleries; and if the Effect of this Duty should be to diminish that Quantity, I cannot see any great national Mis-
chief

chief that would attend it, because I cannot admit that any Manufactures should be encouraged in the Colonies, to the Prejudice of those established in the Mother Country. As to the Rum used on board the *American* Ships, that is a Kind of home Consumption; the Duty is but an inconsiderable Addition to the whole Expence of the Trade, and is certainly not too much for it to bear, as the same Trade carried on by Ships from hence, which take in sufficient Store here, does in this Article actually bear a greater; surely the *Americans* have Advantages enough by their Situation with respect to the Fisheries, not to make it necessary to give their Manufactures the Preference to our own, in order to enable them to fish on Terms still so much better. As to the Trade upon the Coast of *Guinea*, that is no longer a Matter of Speculation: the Experiment has been made already of advancing the Price of *American* Rum there, and has succeeded. Their Rum used to be cheaper tho' but a little cheaper than the *British* Spirits on the Coast, but was always greatly preferred by the Natives, not on Account of the Difference of Price, but of its more fiery Quality, which made it more acceptable to the Negroes. The *British* Spirits are sold on the Coast of *Guinea* at about One Shilling and Two-pence Half-penny per Gallon; the *American* used to be sold at about One Shilling and Two-pence: but on the Alarm, occasioned last Year by the Establishment of Cutters, to enforce the Collection of the Six-penny Duty, which then subsisted, the *American* Merchants suddenly raised their Price from One Shilling and Two-pence to One Shilling

ling and Six-pence *per* Gallon, and yet preserved the Preference given by the Negroes to their Spirits. The Rise was made on the Presumption that the Six-penny Duty would be levied; at that Time the Reduction to Three-pence was not foreseen, for they never would have required Four-pence of the Consumers to enable them to defray an additional Expence of Three Half-pence only upon the Commodity: they may now lower it again; and fixing the Price of their Rum on the Coast of *Guinea* at Two Shillings and Three-pence Half-penny *per* Gallon, the Profits of the Merchant will be the same as when he sold for Two Shillings and Two pence; and he may depend on the Preference being given to the *American* Spirits, since it was given when they were at Two Shillings and Six-pence and the *British* at Two Shillings and Two-pence Half-penny *per* Gallon. As to the *Indian* Trade the *Americans* have it much more to themselves; there they have no Competitors to apprehend; and the poor Savages are not, I doubt, used to such nice Calculations in their Transactions with us, as to be very sensible to a Difference of Three Half-pence on a Gallon of Rum. I wish they had always been dealt with as fairly as a Rise upon the Commodity will be on the present Occasion; and I should rejoice could I be sure, that they will never have better Grounds to complain of their Traffic with the *English*. Upon examining therefore the several Places of Vent for the Spirituous Liquors made in *America*, there does not seem much Reason to fear any great Detriment to the Distilleries there from this Duty. Something more than mere Apprehen-

sions and general Assertions are necessary to condemn a Tax which appears so proper on so many Accounts; and, unless Experience should prove that it is attended with bad Consequences, or stronger Objections can be made to it than have come to my Knowledge, I cannot join in foreboding Evils that I do not foresee; and which, at the worst, amount to no more than that the Colonies will not be able to manufacture a Material which they purchase of the *French*, upon better Terms than the Inhabitants of *Great Britain* can manufacture *British* Produce. The Colonies may follow the Example of their Mother Country, and distil Spirits from their own Corn. This will be a Consumption of that Commodity in Compensation of the Loss, which it is said they will sustain in the Vent of it to the *French* Islands. But will they lose that or any other Article of Commerce by this Burthen on the Return they receive for them? Are not the Demands of the *French* for Necessaries? Can they now, that they have ceded all *North America*, can they now, tho' they could not before, supply themselves from any other than from our Colonies, with Provisions and with Lumber? Had they no Returns to make, must not they purchase these Necessaries with Money? and can they refuse to make this the Return, as far as it will go, upon our own Terms, since they have no other way to dispose of it? The Trade of the *West India* Islands, whoever they belong to, is always under the Controul of the Nation that is in Possession of *North America*; they depend upon that Continent for the Subsistence of their Inhabitants, and for the Means of disposing

posing of their Produce, as they can no where else procure in any Quantity, or at any tolerable Price, the Casks and other Materials that are necessary for that Purpose. We may reject their Melasses; but they cannot refuse our Provisions and our Lumber; and now that the whole Continent, which produces those Articles, is ceded to *Great-Britain*, the *French* Islands are far more dependant than they were upon her, for their Support and for their Commerce; there is a greater Balance of Trade against them; a larger Proportion of the Profits they make upon their Produce, must be expended in the Purchase of those Necessaries, which *North America* alone can supply; and they are on these and many other Accounts, far less valuable to *France* than they were while she retained her Colonies on the Continent. They will sink still lower in their Value, when the Demands of *North America* shall decrease, as the ceded Islands improve; for the *French* Plantations have hitherto produced Coffee, Cotton, Cocoa, Ginger, Indigo, and Pimento, in greater Quantities than ours, because their Planters are poorer, and their Lands in a lower State of Cultivation. These Articles, exclusive of such of them as may be raised in the *Floridas*, will for the same Reasons be most attended to, by the first Settlers on the ceded Islands; and as soon as they attain to the raising of Sugar, they will again interfere with the *French* in the great Article of Melasses; as it is well known that the Cane yields much larger Quantities of Melasses when planted on fresh Lands; and that the Reason why our Islands do not produce so much as the *French*, is

only because the Lands are more exhausted in our than in their Plantations. The Sugar itself, which these Islands will produce, will be a further Diminution of the Demands of our Colonies upon those of the *French*; and the less those Demands are, so much the more must their Plantations be at our Mercy, in such Articles as we may still have Occasion for from them; while their Want of what we alone can furnish, can never diminish, unless their Colonies decline. The Duty of One Pound Two Shillings on all foreign white or clay'd Sugars, imported into the *British* Colonies, which is imposed by the Act of the last Sessions, cannot be complained of by the *Americans*, so far as their own Consumption is affected by it, since the Inhabitants of *Great Britain* have chearfully submitted their Consumption to the like Regulation, and for the Benefit of the *West India* Plantations, have laid a much higher Duty upon *French* than upon *British* Sugars imported into *Great Britain*: but it is objected to this Tax, that it will hurt the Trade of the *North Americans*, as Carriers of the *French* Sugars to *Europe*; a Trade profitable in itself, and promoting Navigation; on which Accounts it is said, a Drawback of great Part or of the whole of the Duty, should be allowed on Re-exportation. Could this be done without opening Opportunities for the greatest Frauds on the Revenue, it might be proper; but it is well known that no Indulgence to Trade is so much abused to the prejudice, both of the Revenue and of Commerce, as the Allowance of Drawbacks here; and it will

will be liable to greater Abuses in *America*, unless some more effectual Method than has hitherto been practised, could be found to prevent them: and after all it remains to be proved, that the Object is great enough to justify the dangerous Experiment of making in any Shape an Allowance of a Drawback; the *North Americans* had indeed formerly the Carriage of the *French* Sugars to a considerable Amount; but the *French* have for many Years carried the greater Part themselves. This Duty too, it must be observed, is only on the White and the Clay'd, that is, the manufactured Sugars: the Effect of it may be in some Degree, to induce the *French* to send their Sugars in a lower State of Manufacture to *North America*, and then they will be free of Duty: the Carriage of these is not affected: as to the Carriage of the others, if what is left of that Trade could be retained without exposing the Revenue and the fair Trader to Losses, they ought to be free from, it certainly would be proper to do it; the only Doubt is whether it be possible.

These are the several Duties imposed by Parliament during the last Sessions, upon the Consumption of *America*; and they appear to have been judiciously chosen, not only with a View to the Revenue, which they will produce; but for other, and in my Opinion, greater political Purposes, which each of them will respectively answer; and besides those already mentioned, there is one general Effect that will result from the whole, which will be of the utmost Importance to the Trade of *Great Britain*, and to the Connection between her and her Colonies, tho' the

the Duties are very low, the Articles on which they are laid are numerous, and comprehend all that have been the Subjects of a contraband Trade, with those Parts of *Europe* which the Colonies are not allowed to trade to. The bringing these to a regular Entry and Account, will be the Means of detecting and of preventing the illicit Proceedings that have hitherto prevailed; and not only support and encourage the *British* Manufactures, but maintain and improve the Commerce and Navigation, both of *Great Britain* and her Colonies, tho' the Merchandize should be the Produce of neither. In other Countries Custom-house Duties are for the most Part, little more than a Branch of the Revenue: In the Colonies they are a political Regulation, and enforce the Observance of those wise Laws to which the great Increase of our Trade and naval Power are principally owing. The Aim of those Laws is to confine the *European* Commerce of the Colonies to the Mother Country: to provide that their most valuable Commodities shall be exported either to *Great Britain* or to *British* Plantations; and to secure the Navigation of all *American* Exports and Imports to *British* Ships and *British* Subjects only. It is the Policy of every Nation to prohibit all foreign Trade with their Plantations: it has been the Policy of this almost as far back as we have had any Colonies worth regarding; the first and great Act of Navigation being nearly co-æval with their Existence as a People; before that Time the *English* of the *West-Indies* were but Adventurers, and the Inhabitants of *North America* were but a few unhappy Fugitives, who
had

had wandered thither to enjoy their civil and religious Liberties, which they were deprived of at home. The Distractions of this Country had indeed increased their Numbers, but they were still separate, weak, necessitous, and truly infant Colonies, nursed by perpetual Supplies from the Mother Country, exposed to every Hazard, sustained with Difficulty, and only beginning to give hopes that they might hereafter be what they now are. Upon this Prospect the Act of Navigation form'd their Dependance into Connection, and gave a Sanction to the Emigration and the Expence occasioned by supporting them; for Colonies are only Settlements made in distant Parts of the World, for the Improvement of Trade; but if they were allowed to transfer the Benefits of their Commerce to any other Country than that from which they came, they would destroy the very Purposes of their Establishment: and it is but an equitable Return for the Accommodation which has been provided for them, and the Emoluments they have received, that they, the Subjects still of the same Country, should continue to act as they must have acted, had they continued its Inhabitants, and that their Produce and their Consumption should be for the Benefit of that Country, in Preference to any other. No Nation would tolerate Colonies upon any other Conditions: It would be suffering themselves to be exhausted, impoverished, and weakened, in support of a People, who might divert their Commerce to the Advantage of another, perhaps of a Rival, and the Mother Country would be ruined

ruined by the Prosperity of her Colonies. The Act of Navigation therefore is founded upon Right as well as Policy; the Principles of it have been adopted and confirmed in all our subsequent Laws; the Injunctions it contains have never been departed from, without very cogent Reasons, and then only in a few particular Instances. The Effects of it have been the Increase of our Trade and Navigation; and all Evasions therefore of this, and the other Acts of Trade and Navigation, are destructive of what every Subject of these Kingdoms should pay the utmost Attention to; for tho' Individuals may gain a Profit, tho' Consumers may procure at a cheaper Rate the Commodities they want, by the Breach of these Laws, yet the Interests, I do not mean the Revenue only, but the essential Interests of the Commonweal are thereby sacrificed to private, partial, and trifling Emoluments, uncertain in their Nature, temporary in Duration, and ruinous in the End. Even the Colonies themselves suffer from the Advantages made by some of their Inhabitants; not only in the Distress these iniquitous Practices bring upon their fair Traders; in the Loss of Employment to their Shipping; and in the Per-
 version of the Industry, and the Depravation of the Morals of so many of their People; but most materially in depriving their Mother Country (so far as such Practices extend) of those Resources, which the Commerce of her Colonies secured to herself would constantly furnish, for their Benefit and her own; when her Trade and her Manufactures by these Means decline, her people decrease, and her Power and her Re-
 venues

venues diminish; her Efforts must be so much the fainter for general or partial Good, her Ability to raise within herself the Supplies which the Support, the Defence, and the Improvement of her vast Empire require, is so far less; and her Demands for Assistance must consequently be greater upon her Colonies, who can answer those Demands only by oppressing their fair Traders and their honest Consumers. It might not perhaps be difficult to shew that Smuggling has not lower'd the Price upon the whole Consumption of *America* taken together, tho' particular Articles may in some Places and to some Persons have come cheaper. The Effects it has had upon others, that are not so particularly the Object of it, and the general Effects of it upon all Markets, more than counterbalance this Advantage; but these are too many and too great to be discuss'd at present. It may be sufficient here, just to suggest the Proposition to those who are inclined to examine it, and to support it only with observing, that the salutary Provisions of the Acts of Trade and Navigation, are acknowledged by the most reputable and the most considerate Inhabitants of the Colonies, and that they constantly deplore the little Regard that has been paid to them by their self-interested and inadvertent Countrymen. To them therefore, and to every true Lover of his Country, whatever Part of the *British* Dominions he inhabits, the Act of the last Sessions of Parliament, which, by its general Tendency and particular Provisions, must greatly corroborate those Laws, will be a most welcome Regulation of Commerce. The contraband Trade that is car-



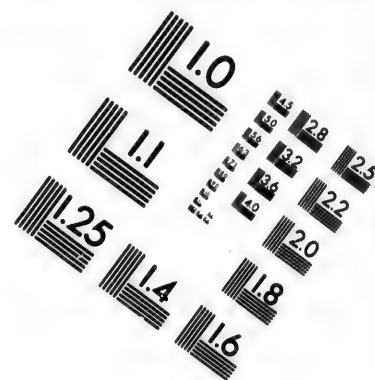
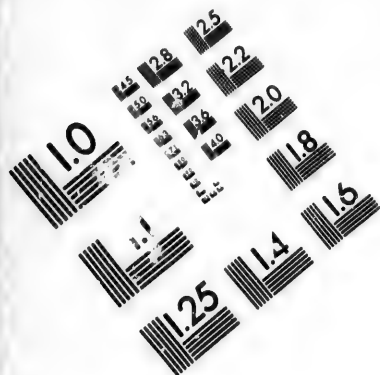
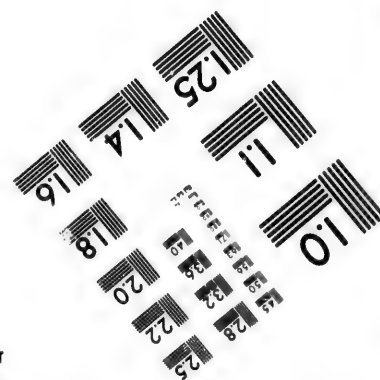
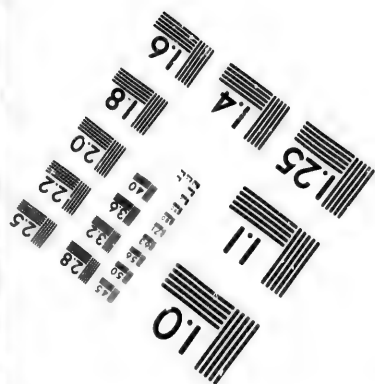
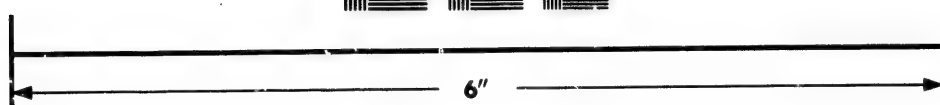
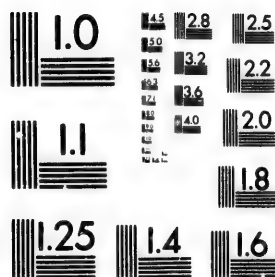


IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (MT-3)



Photographic
Sciences
Corporation

23 WEST MAIN STREET
WEBSTER, N.Y. 14590
(716) 872-4503



ried on there, is a Subject of the most serious Consideration; and is become a much more alarming Circumstance, than that Increase of Wealth, People, and Territory, which raises Apprehensions in many Persons that the Colonies may break off their Connections with *Great Britain*: That Connection is actually broken already, wherever the Acts of Navigation are disregarded; and for so much of their Trade as is thereby diverted from its proper Channel, they are no longer *British* Colonies; but Colonies of the Countries they trade to. Thither they carry their Produce; from thence they receive their Supply; and Trade and Navigation flourish there, by an illicit Intercourse with the *British* Plantations. The Extent of this Commerce, as it is in its Nature private, cannot be certainly known; but that it is now carried to a dangerous Excess, is an indisputable Fact. Ships are continually passing between our Plantations and *Holland*, *Hamburg*, and most of the Ports on the *German* Ocean, and in the *Baltic*, all direct Communication, with which, exclusive of the Intervention of *Great Britain*, is illegal. At other Places, which the Ships of the Plantations are allowed to resort to without touching here, for particular Purposes, the Licence is abused, and Commodities not permitted to be sent to our Colonies, but thro' this Country, are immediately carried from thence; and great Quantities of *European* Commodities are besides constantly smuggled from foreign Plantations into ours. The Concurrence of all these several Modes of evading the Acts of Navigation, can alone account for the Demands of the Colonies upon

upon their Mother Country, being vastly disproportioned to their Consumption. The Half Subsidy retained here upon the finer Linens amounts to no more than about 300*l.* *per Ann.* and yet no one will venture to represent the Linen Manufactory of *North America* to be in so flourishing a State, as to produce all that the Inhabitants use above that small Quantity. The whole annual Export of Wine from hence to the Plantations, falls greatly short of an Hundred Ton; can the *Madeira* and the Western Islands furnished the Rest of their Consumption? The Tea that is sent from hence does not generally exceed One Hundred and Fifty Thousand Pounds weight *per Ann.* tho' by the best Computation that can be made, the Colonies must consume One Million Five Hundred Thousand Pounds Weight in the Year. The *Dutch*, the *French*, the *Swedish*, the *Danish*, *East India* Companies, supply them with nine tenths of their Consumption, to the Prejudice of the *English* Company, of their Trade and their Navigation. Many other Facts, supported by the concurrent Testimony of all who have ever resided in the Plantations, might be adduced to prove, the great Extent of their illicit Commerce in *European* Commodities, (including those which must be conveyed thro' *Europe* to them,) and justify the common Calculation that the foreign Goods illegally run into the Colonies amount in value to no less than 700000*l.* *per Annum*, which exceeds by far the Value of those foreign Goods that are conveyed thither thro' *Great Britain*.

The Suppression of so enormous and so dangerous an Evil, is a great Object of State, which has been long, far too long neglected: the Laws that have been made for preventing it, were sunk into Disuse, and the due Execution of them is become obnoxious to those who have been suffered to condemn them with Impunity. That Licentiousness however is now at an End; the Reform that was necessary, has I hear been made among the Officers of the Crown. The Civil, the Military, the naval Powers, appear to have been all exerted, for the same salutary Purposes; and the Legislative Authority has in the great Act, that has been so often mentioned, added Vigour and Effect to the former Laws of Trade and Navigation: the particular Clauses that belong to the immediate Subjects of this Act only, demand the Attention of those who are concerned in the Branches of Trade, which they respectively regulate; but are too numerous and too minute to be enlarged upon at present. It is sufficient to observe, that they are all conducive to the same End with those more general Provisions, which on Account of their extensive Importance, are universally interesting.

The Policy of prohibiting certain enumerated Goods, from being exported out of the Plantations, except to some other *British* Plantation, or to *Great Britain*, was introduced by the first Act of Trade and Navigation, and has been adopted in many subsequent Statutes. The enumerated Commodities were those which appeared at that Time the most important to secure to *British* Traders only; but the great Improvements of the Colonies having produced
others

others equally valuable, and the late Accessions of Territory having given us the Monopoly of some, which we have hitherto only shared with the *French*, the Restraint is upon the same Principles of Policy extended to these also, and Coffee, Pimento, Cocoa Nuts, Whale Fins, Raw Silk, Hides and Skins, Pot and Pearl Ashes, are by the Act of the last Sessions added to the enumerated Commodities, because they are necessary for our own Consumption or Manufactures; Iron and Lumber, tho' of equal Utility, yet being a great Article of Trade, in foreign Plantations, are allowed to be disposed of there; but are not to be carried to any other Part of *Europe*, except to *Great Britain*.

A Bond has been always required for every Vessel loading enumerated Goods, by which the Parties concerned obliged themselves to comply with the Laws that relate to them; but when non-enumerated Goods only have been shipped, no Security has ever been taken for the proper Disposal of the Returns usually made from the foreign Plantations; and great Quantities of foreign Melasses and Syrups have been clandestinely run into the Colonies, the Importers of which would have been deterred from attempting to smuggle, if they had been liable to the Penalties of their Bonds upon Detection. A Bond therefore is by this Act required on the loading of non-enumerated Goods also, with Condition, that if any foreign Melasses or Syrups shall be taken on board in Return, the same shall be brought to *Great Britain*, or to a *British* Plantation, and the Master of the Vessel shall, on his Arrival, make a true Report of his Cargo.

But

But whether Bond had been given in either of these Cases, or what were the Conditions of it, could not be known at any other Place than the Port from whence the Vessel departed, if the Master of such Vessel were not obliged to take out a Certificate of his having complied with the Law which requires such Security: that Precaution therefore is added with respect both to enumerated and non-enumerated Goods; and it is enforced by making all Vessels liable to Seizure, who shall enter into any *British* Port, or be found within two Leagues of the Shores of the Colonies, without such a Certificate.

And for the further Prevention of the Smuggling of foreign Rum, Sugars, and Melasses, which are great Objects of clandestine Trade, it is provided, that whenever any of those Commodities are shipped, as the Growth of a *British* Plantation, it shall be proved upon Oath that they are so; and a Certificate of such Oath having been taken, shall be given to the Master of the Vessel, who must produce it at the Port of Delivery, or the Goods will be liable to Seizure.

All these Provisions are however but Guards against clandestine Importations: the Goods would be to a Degree in Safety as soon as they were landed, and might be carried out again along the neighbouring Coasts with Security, if the Vigilance of the Law stopped here. The Danger therefore of an illicit Commerce is continued beyond the first Importation, and the Vent of smuggled Goods is laid under still further Difficulties and Discouragements; for no Merchandize whatever can now be conveyed by Sea from

from one Colony to another, without a Suffe-
 rance, upon which a Cocket is to be made out,
 particularly specifying the Goods, and the Du-
 ties that have been paid thereon, if they are
 liable to any; and every coasting Vessel not
 furnished with such a Cocket, may be seized on
 her Arrival at the Port of her Destination, or
 if she is met by a Cruizer, within two Leagues
 of the Shore of any of the Colonies.

These several additional Precautions will
 certainly contribute very much to the Suppres-
 sion of that illicit Trade which is carried on by
British Ships and *British* Subjects; but they do
 not apply to foreign Vessels, which being already
 prohibited from entering the Ports of the Colo-
 nies, only approach the Coasts, and watch their
 Opportunities to land their contraband Cargoes.
 For the Prevention of this Practice, the Pro-
 visions of the *British* hovering Acts are extended
 to *America*, and every foreign Vessel, which shall
 be found at anchor or hovering within two
 Leagues of the Shores of any of the Planta-
 tions, and shall not depart or proceed on her
 Voyage to some foreign Port within Forty-eight
 Hours after Requisition made to depart by a
 Custom-house Officer, is ordered to be seized,
 and condemned, whether Bulk shall have been
 broken or not, the *French* Ships employed in the
Newfoundland Fishery, within the Limits pre-
 scribed to them, only excepted.

But that the necessary Exception, in their
 Favour, may not be abused, and that the Islands
 of *St. Pierre* and *Miquelon*, which were granted
 to the *French*, as a bare Shelter for their Fisher-
 men, and which are in themselves, from their
 Barren

Barrenness and the Smallness of their Extent, fit for that Purpose alone, may not be made Warehouses for supplying the *British* Colonies with *French* Merchandize, to the Prejudice of our Manufactures and Navigation; and the Encouragement of their Fisheries; a vigorous Clause subjects to Forfeiture every *British* Vessel concerned in any Trade whatsoever with these Islands, or hovering on their Coasts, or discovered to have been there.

The Attention of the Legislature has not however been confined to *America*: Frauds practised in *Britain* with a View to a clandestine Trade in the Colonies, have fallen under their Notice; and to prevent them it has been found necessary to regulate the Trade from hence to the Colonies. It has been a common Practice for *British* Ships provided with a Cargo in foreign Countries, which was pretended to be destined for a foreign Plantation, just to touch at some Out-port of this Kingdom, and there to take small Parcels of Goods on board, which they entered for a *British* Colony: Under cover of these, however inconsiderable, they gained Admittance into the *American* Ports, and there Opportunities were not wanting to run the whole Cargoes on shore: This pernicious Contrivance to evade the Law is now defeated, as no Ship can from henceforth be cleared out from any *British* for any *American* Port, unless her whole Cargo be laden here; and all Goods which shall be found on board, and which are not expressly described in the Cocket which the Master is obliged to take, are liable to be seized.

The

The Power of seizing Ships within certain Distances of the Shore (which as has been seen) is given by this Act in so many Instances, will make the Sea Guard of Cruizers and Cutters which was established before, and has been of singular Use already, still more effectual; To keep up a Body of Seamen fit for Service, and not to keep them in Service, is impracticable: They will not be Seamen long, if active Business is not found for them; and the employing therefore part of that Number which Parliament has thought proper should be maintain'd during the Peace, in the Prevention of Smuggling both here and in the Colonies, conduces at the same time to the great Purpose of supporting a naval Power, to the Improvement of the Revenue, and to the Regulation of Commerce. The Officers and the Men who are engaged in this Duty are encouraged to perform it with Spirit and Alacrity by the Prizes they may expect; and the Check that has hitherto slackened their Vigilance, arising from the Difficulties that attended Prosecutions, and the Uncertainty of the Shares they would entitle themselves to, which were so varied in different Acts of Parliament, that it was become a Science to understand them, is removed by the Act of the last Sessions: The same Forms of Proceedings being now established for all Prosecutions, and one certain Division being now made of all Seizures. The Custom-house Officers share the Benefits of this Amendment of the Law, and of the several other Facilities given to them in the Execution of their respective Offices; while on the other hand the Perform-

mance of their Duty is enforced by additional Penalties on the Breach of it.

These general Regulations and the particular Provisions of the Act in many Instances that required such special Clauses, concurring with the vigorous Measures taken by Government to enforce Obedience to all the Laws; and with the zealous Exertion of the civil, the military, and the naval Powers in the Colonies, as permitted encouraged, or required by Law to assist in the Prevention of Smuggling, give reasonable Ground to hope that that important Object of Policy, of Commerce, and of Revenue, the Suppression of the contraband Trade which has prevailed such a length of time in the Colonies, will in a great measure be attained. As to the Revenue which the new Impositions will produce, I suppose it is very difficult, if not impossible to form any Calculation of its Amount: I will not even hazard a Conjecture upon it, as I cannot presume that I should be right; and I should be sorry to be wrong. Thus far however may be safely affirmed, that Duties so low, and now first laid, will not at present contribute largely to the Exigencies of the Public; for inconsiderable as they are, the Payment of them will be often avoided by Frauds and Subtilties, which no Penetration can foresee, and Experience only can discover and prevent. On the other hand, they will be an improving Revenue; because they are laid upon numerous Articles of general Consumption among an increasing People; and if not productive of a great Fund immediately, will be at least a wide Foundation for a considerable future Revenue; but

but upon no Calculation can it be supposed to be equal to the Demand that must be made upon the Colonies; and therefore a further Tax has been proposed; it has been even resolved by a Vote of the House of Commons, that *it may be proper to charge certain Stamp Duties in the Plantations*; and here the Legislature stopped last Sessions out of Tendernefs to the Colonies. A Stamp Duty, tho' often used in the Plantations for the Purposes of their own Government, has never been imposed there by Authority of Parliament, and time has been therefore very properly allowed, to enquire whether it will be attended with any Inconveniences, and to provide Expedients of Prevention or Remedy; but I believe the more it is examined, so much the more clearly will it appear, that this Mode of Taxation is the easiest, the most equal and the most certain that can be chosen: The Duty falls chiefly upon Property; but it is spread lightly over a great Variety of Subjects, and lies heavy upon none: The Act executes itself by annulling the Instruments that have not paid the small Sums they are charged with; and the Tax thus supported and secured, is collected by few Officers, without Expence to the Crown, or Oppression on the People.

The Revenue that may be raised by the Duties which have been already, or by these if they should be hereafter imposed, are all equally applied by Parliament, *towards defraying the necessary Expences of defending, protecting, and securing, the British Colonies and Plantations in America*: Not that on the one hand an American Revenue might not have been applied to differ-

rent Purposes ; or on the other, that *Great Britain* is to contribute nothing to these : The very Words of the Act of Parliament and of the Resolution of the House of Commons imply, that the whole of the Expence is not to be charged upon the Colonies : They are under no Obligation to provide for this or any other particular national Expence ; neither can they claim any Exemption from general Burthens ; but being a part of the *British* Dominions, are to share all necessary Services with the rest. This in *America* does indeed first claim their Attention : They are immediately, they are principally concerned in it ; and the Inhabitants of their Mother-Country would justly and loudly complain, if after all their Efforts for the Benefit of the Colonies, when every Point is gained, and every wish accomplished, they, and they alone should be called upon still to answer every additional Demand, that the Preservation of these Advantages, and the Protection of the Colonies from future Dangers, may occasion : *Great Britain* has a Right at all Times, she is under a Necessity, upon this Occasion, to demand their Assistance ; but still she requires it in the Manner most suitable to their Circumstances ; for by appropriating this Revenue towards the Defence and Security of the Provinces where it is raised, the Produce of it is kept in the Country, the People are not deprived of the Circulation of what Cash they have amongst themselves, and thereby the severest Oppression of an *American* Tax, that of draining the Plantations of Money which they can so ill spare, is avoided. What Part they ought to bear of the national Expence, that is
necessary

necessary for their Protection, must depend upon their Ability, which is not yet sufficiently known: to the whole they are certainly unequal, that would include all the military and all the naval Establishment, all Fortifications which it may be thought proper to erect, the the Ordnance and Stores that must be furnished, and the Provisions which it is necessary to supply; but surely a Part of this great Disbursement, a large Proportion at least of some particular Branches of it, cannot be an intolerable Burthen upon such a Number of Subjects, upon a Territory so extensive, and upon the Wealth which they collectively possess. As to the Quota which each Individual must pay, it will be difficult to persuade the Inhabitants of this Country, where the neediest Cottager pays out of his Pittance, however scanty, and how hardly soever earned, our high Duties of Customs and Excise in the Price of all his Consumption; it will be difficult I say, to persuade those who see, who suffer, or who relieve such Oppression; that the *West Indian* out of his Opulence, and the *North American* out of his Competency, can contribute no more than it is now pretended they can afford towards the Expence of Services, the Benefit of which, as a Part of this Nation they share, and as Colonists they peculiarly enjoy. They have indeed their own civil Governments besides to support; but *Great Britain* has her civil Government too; she has also a large Peace Establishment to maintain; and the national Debt, tho' so great a Part, and that the heaviest Part of it has been incurred by a War undertaken
for

for the Protection of the Colonies, lies solely still upon her.

The Reasonableness, and even the Necessity of requiring an *American* Revenue being admitted, the Right of the Mother Country to impose such a Duty upon her Colonies, if duly considered, cannot be questioned: they claim it is true the Privilege, which is common to all *British* Subjects, of being taxed only with their own Consent, given by their Representatives; and may they ever enjoy the Privilege in all its Extent: May this sacred Pledge of Liberty be preserved inviolate, to the utmost Verge of our Dominions, and to the latest Page of our History! but let us not limit the legislative Rights of the *British* People to Subjects of Taxation only: No new Law whatever can bind us that is made without the Concurrence of our Representatives. The Acts of Trade and Navigation, and all other Acts that relate either to ourselves or to the Colonies, are founded upon no other Authority; they are not obligatory if a Stamp Act is not, and every Argument in support of an Exemption from the Superintendence of the *British* Parliament in the one Case, is equally applicable to the others. The Constitution knows no Distinction; the Colonies have never attempted to make one; but have acquiesced under several parliamentary Taxes. The 6 Geo. II. c. 13. which has been already referred to, lays heavy Duties on all foreign Rum, Sugar, and Melasses, imported into the *British* Plantations: the Amount of the Impositions has been complained of; the Policy of the Laws has been objected to; but the Right of making
such

such a Law, has never been questioned. These however, it may be said, are Duties upon Imports only, and there some imaginary Line has been supposed to be drawn; but had it ever existed, it was passed long before, for by 25 *Charles II.* c. 7. enforced by 7 and 8 *Wil.* and *Mary*, c. 22. and by 1 *Geo. I.* c. 12. the Exports of the *West Indian* Islands, not the Merchandize purchased by the Inhabitants, nor the Profits they might make by their Trade, but the Property they had at the Time, the Produce of their Lands, was taxed, by the Duties then imposed upon Sugar, Tobacco, Cotton, Indigo, Ginger, Logwood, Fustick, and Cocoa, exported from one *British* Plantation to another.

It is in vain to call these only Regulations of Trade; the Trade of *British* Subjects may not be regulated by such Means, without the Concurrence of their Representatives. Duties laid for these Purposes, as well as for the Purposes of Revenue, are still Levies of Money upon the People. The Constitution again knows no Distinction between Impost Duties and internal Taxation; and if some speculative Difference should be attempted to be made, it certainly is contradicted by Fact; for an internal Tax also was laid on the Colonies by the Establishment of a Post Office there; which, however it may be represented, will, upon a Perusal of 9 *Anne* c. 10. appear to be essentially a Tax, and that of the most authoritative Kind; for it is enforced by Provisions, more peculiarly prohibitory and compulsive, than others are usually attended with: The Conveyance of Letters thro' any other Channel is forbidden, by which Restrictions,

tions, the Advantage which might be made by public Carriers and others of this Branch of their Business is taken away; and the Passage of Ferries is declared to be free for the Post, the Ferrymen being compellable immediately on Demand to give their Labour without pay, and the Proprietors being obliged to furnish the Means of Passage to the Post without Recompence. These Provisions are indeed very proper, and even necessary; but certainly Money levied by such Methods, the Effect of which is intended to be a Monopoly of the Carriage of Letters to the Officers of this Revenue, and by Means of which the People are forced to pay the Rates imposed upon all their Correspondence, is a public Tax to which they must submit, and not merely a Price required of them for a private Accommodation. The Act treats this, and the *British* Postage upon exactly the same Footing, and expressly calls them both a *Revenue*. The Preamble of it declares, that the new Rates are fixed in the Manner therein specified with a View to enable her Majesty in some Measure to carry on and finish the War. The Sum of 700l. per Week out of all the Duties arising from time to time by virtue of this Act is appropriated for that Purpose, and for other necessary Occasions; the Surplus after other Deductions, was made part of the civil List Revenues; it continued to be thus applied during the Reigns of *George I.* and *George II.* and on his present Majesty's Accession to the Throne, when the Civil List was put upon a different Establishment, the Post Office Revenues were carried with the others to the aggregate Fund, to be applied to the Uses, to which the

the said Fund is or shall be applicable. If all these Circumstances do not constitute a Tax, I do not know what do: the Stamp Duties are not marked with stronger Characters, to entitle them to that Denomination; and with respect to the Application of the Revenue, the Power of the Parliament of *Great Britain* over the Colonies was then held up much higher than it has been upon the present Occasion. The Revenue arising from the Postage in *American* is blended with that of *England*, is applied in Part to the carrying on of a continental War, and other public Purposes; the Remainder of it to the Support of the Civil List; and now the whole of it to the Discharge of the National Debt by Means of the aggregate Fund; all these are Services that are either national or particular to *Great Britain*; but the Stamp Duties and the others that were laid last Year, are appropriated to such Services only as more particularly relate to the Colonies; and surely if the Right of the *British* Parliament to impose the one be acknowledged; that of laying on the other cannot be disputed. The Post-Office has indeed been called a meer Convenience; which therefore the People always cheerfully pay for. After what has been said, this Observation requires very little Notice; I will not call the Protection and Security of the Colonies, to which the Duties in question are applied, by so low a Name as a Convenience.

The Instances that have been mentioned prove, that the Right of the Parliament of *Great Britain* to impose Taxes of every Kind on the Colonies, has been always admitted; but

P

were

were there no Precedents to support the Claim, it would still be incontestable, being founded on the Principles of our Constitution; for the Fact is, that the Inhabitants of the Colonies are represented in Parliament: they do not indeed chuse the Members of that Assembly; neither are Nine Tenths of the People of *Britain* Electors; for the Right of Election is annexed to certain Species of Property, to peculiar Franchises, and to Inhabitaney in some particular Places; but these Descriptions comprehend only a very small Part of the Land, the Property, and the People of this Island: all Copyhold, all Leasehold Estates, under the Crown, under the Church, or under private Persons, tho' for Terms ever so long; all landed Property in short, that is not Freehold, and all monied Property whatsoever are excluded: the Possessors of these have no Votes in the Election of Members of Parliament; Women and Persons under Age be their Property ever so large, and all of it Freehold, have none. The Merchants of *London*, a numerous and respectable Body of Men, whose Opulence exceeds all that *America* could collect; the Proprietors of that vast Accumulation of Wealth, the public Funds; the Inhabitants of *Leeds*, of *Halifax*, of *Birmingham*, and of *Manchester*, Towns that are each of them larger than the Largest in the Plantations; many of less Note that are yet incorporated; and that great Corporation the *East India* Company, whose Rights over the Countries they possess, fall little short of Sovereignty, and whose Trade and whose Fleets are sufficient to constitute them a maritime Power, are all in the same
Cir-

Circumstances; none of them chuse their Representatives; and yet are they not represented in Parliament? Is their vast Property subject to Taxes without their Consent? Are they all arbitrarily bound by Laws to which they have not agreed? The Colonies are in exactly the same Situation: All *British* Subjects are really in the same; none are actually, all are virtually represented in Parliament; for every Member of Parliament sits in the House, not as Representative of his own Constituents, but as one of that august Assembly by which all the Commons of *Great Britain* are represented. Their Rights and their Interests, however his own Borough may be affected by general Dispositions, ought to be the great Objects of his Attention, and the only Rules for his Conduct; and to sacrifice these to a partial Advantage in favour of the Place where he was chosen, would be a Departure from his Duty; if it were otherwise, *Old Sarum* would enjoy Privileges essential to Liberty, which are denied to *Birmingham* and to *Manchester*; but as it is, they and the Colonies and all *British* Subjects whatever, have an equal Share in the general Representation of the Commons of *Great Britain*, and are bound by the Consent of the Majority of that House, whether their own particular Representatives consented to or opposed the Measures there taken, or whether they had or had not particular Representatives there.

The Inhabitants of the Colonies however have by some been supposed to be excepted, because they are represented in their respective Assemblies. So are the Citizens of *London* in their

Common Council; and yet so far from excluding them from the national Representation, it does not impeach their Right to chuse Members of Parliament: it is true, that the Powers vested in the Common Council of *London*, are not equal to those which the Assemblies in the Plantations enjoy; but still they are legislative Powers, to be exercised within their District, and over their Citizens; yet not exclusively of the general Superintendence of the great Council of the Nation: The Subjects of a By-law and of an Act of Parliament may possibly be the same; yet it never was imagined that the Privileges of *London* were incompatible with the Authority of Parliament; and indeed what Contradiction, what Absurdity, does a double Representation imply? What difficulty is there in allowing both, tho' both should even be vested with equal legislative Powers, if the one is to be exercised for local, and the other for general Purposes? and where is the Necessity that the Subordinate Power must derogate from the superior Authority? It would be a singular Objection to a Man's Vote for a Member of Parliament, that being represented in a provincial, he cannot be represented in a national Assembly; and if this is not sufficient Ground for an Objection, neither is it for an Exemption, or for any Pretence of an Exclusion.

The Charter and the proprietary Governments in *America*, are in this Respect, on the same Footing with the Rest. The comprehending them also, both in a provincial and national Representation, is not necessarily attended with any Inconsistency, and nothing contained in their Grants can

can establish one ; for all who took those Grants were *British* Subjects, inhabiting *British* Dominions, and who at the Time of taking, were indisputably under the Authority of Parliament; no other Power can abridge that Authority, or dispense with the Obedience that is due to it : those therefore, to whom the Charters were originally given, could have no Exemption granted to them : and what the Fathers never received, the Children cannot claim as an Inheritance; nor was it ever in Idea that they should ; even the Charters themselves, so far from allowing guard against the Supposition.

And after all, does any Friend to the Colonies desire the Exemption ? he cannot, if he will reflect but a Moment on the Consequences. We value the Right of being represented in the national Legislature as the dearest Privilege we enjoy ; how justly would the Colonies complain, if they alone were deprived of it ? They acknowledge Dependance upon their Mother Country ; but that Dependance would be Slavery not Connection, if they bore no Part in the Government of the whole : they would then indeed be in a worse Situation than the Inhabitants of *Britain*, for these are all of them virtually, tho' few of them are actually represented in the *House of Commons* ; if the Colonies were not, they could not expect that their Interests and their Privileges would be any otherwise considered there, than as subservient to those of *Great Britain*; for to deny the Authority of a Legislature, is to surrender all Claims to a Share in its Councils ; and if this were the Tenor of their Charters, a Grant more insidious and more replete

replete with Mischief, could not have been invented : a permanent Title to a Share in national Councils, would be exchanged for a precarious Representation in a provincial Assembly ; and a Forfeiture of their Rights would be couched under the Appearance of Privileges ; they would be reduced from Equality to Subordination, and be at the same Time deprived of the Benefits, and liable to the Inconveniences, both of Independency and of Connection. Happily for them, this is not their Condition. They are on the contrary a Part, and an important Part of the Commons of *Great Britain* : they are represented in Parliament, in the same Manner as those Inhabitants of *Britain* are, who have not Voices in Elections ; and they enjoy, with the Rest of their Fellow-subjects, the inestimable Privilege of not being bound by any Laws, or subject to any Taxes, to which the Majority of the Representatives of the Commons have not consented.

If there really were any Inconsistency between a national and a provincial Legislature, the Consequence would be the Abolition of the latter ; for the Advantages that attend it are purely local : the District it is confined to might be governed without it, by means of the national Representatives ; and it is unequal to great general Operations ; whereas the other is absolutely necessary for the Benefit and Preservation of the whole : But so far are they from being incompatible, that they will be seldom found to interfere with one another : The Parliament will not often have occasion to exercise its Power over the Colonies, except for those Pur-
poses

poses, which the Assemblies cannot provide for. A general Tax is of this Kind; the Necessity for it, the Extent, the Application of it, are Matters which Councils limited in their Views and in their Operations cannot properly judge of; and when therefore the national Council determine these Particulars, it does not encroach on the other, it only exercises a Power which that other does not pretend to, never claimed, or wished, nor can ever be vested with: The latter remains in exactly the same State as it was before, providing for the same Services, by the same Means, and on the same Subjects; but conscious of its own Inability to answer greater Purposes than those for which it was instituted, it leaves the care of more general Concerns to that higher Legislature, in whose Province alone the Direction of them always was, is, and will be. The Exertion of that Authority which belongs to its universal Superintendence, neither lowers the Dignity, nor depreciates the Usefulness of more limited Powers: They retain all that they ever had, and are really incapable of more.

The Concurrence therefore of the provincial Representatives cannot be necessary in great public Measures to which none but the national Representatives are equal: The Parliament of *Great Britain* not only may but must tax the Colonies, when the public Occasions require a Revenue there: The present Circumstances of the Nation require one now; and a Stamp Act, of which we have had so long an Experience in this, and which is not unknown in that Country, seems an eligible Mode of Taxation.

From

From all these Considerations, and from many others which will occur upon Reflexion and need not be suggested, it must appear *proper to charge certain Stamp Duties in the Plantations to be applied towards defraying the necessary Expenses of defending, protecting, and securing the British Colonies and Plantations in America.* This Vote of the House of Commons closed the Measures taken last Year on the Subject of the Colonies: They appear to have been founded upon true Principles of Policy, of Commerce, and of Finance; to be wise with respect to the Mother-Country; just and even beneficial to the Plantations; and therefore it may reasonably be expected that either in their immediate Operations, or in their distant Effects, they will improve the Advantages we possess, confirm the Blessings we enjoy, and promote the public Welfare.

E N D

Y B 6 0 2 4 1 7 8 9 1 0 1 1 1 2